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CAITHREIM CELLACHAIN CAISIL

THE VICTORIOUS CAREER OF CELLACHAN OF CASHEL

OR

THE WARS BETWEEN THE IRISHMEN AND THE NORSEMEN IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 10TH CENTURY

THE ORIGINAL IRISH TEXT,

EDITED, WITH

TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

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PUBLISHED FOR
DET NORSKE HISTORISKE KILDESKRIFTFOND

CHRISTIANIA
J. CHR. GUNDERSENS BOGTRYKKERI
1905

TO

WHITLEY STOKES, ESQ., D. C. L.,

FOREIGN ASSOCIATE OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE,

AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE AND

SINCERE ADMIRATION.

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INTRODUCTION.

The present edition of the following work is chiefly based on one Manuscript, the Book of Lismore, a vellum MS. from the end of the 15th century. The Book of Lismore is a *Bibliotheca*, or collection of historical tracts, lifes of saints, poems, tales, genealogies etc. It is the work of three scribes, one of whom is unknown; the two others were a friar surnamed *O Buadacháin* »Buchan«, »Buhan«, who copied from the lost Book of Monasterboice (county Louth); and Aengus O' Callanan. Folio 116 exhibits a curious poem by Mahon mac Donall mac Eoghan O' Daly, hereditary rhymer to the Mac Carthys-Riach, in which he justifies the strong measures taken in 1478 by Finneen and his brother Dermot in order to depose their cousin Cormac mac Donough mac Donall Riach, who had usurped the chiefry from their father (see the Annals of Loch Cé ad an.).[1] We may conclude from this that the Book of Lismore was written at the end of the fifteenth century, ca. 1480—1500.

The Book of Lismore belongs to the Duke of Devonshire. His Grace consented that for my purpose the Book of Lismore should be temporarily deposited in the British Museum, the authorities of the MS. Department having first kindly consented to take charge of it. I hereby beg to express my respectful thanks to his Grace for his liberality, and to the officers of the MS. Department of the British Museum, and likewise to his Excellency the late Minister of Norway and of Sweden, Count Lewenhaupt, who wrote for me to the Duke of Devonshire and got his consent to have

[1] Silva Gadelica, ad. Standish O' Grady (Translation), pp. X—XI.

the MS. deposited in the British Museum, where I was able to study it during the first months of the year 1902. In the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, there is a very good copy of the Book of Lismore, imitating the letters and abbreviations of the original MS., made by the late E. O' Curry. From this copy I had previously, during the winter 1901—1902, copied the Saga of Cellachan. In London I compared this transcript with the original.

Book of Lismore contains on fol. 148—fol. 157 the story upon which the text of our saga is based. The story ends abruptly, in the middle of a description of a battle between the Munstermen and the Leinstermen. It has no heading in the Book of Lismore. But O' Curry, in his copy in the Royal Irish Academy, gives it the title *Caithreim Ceallachain Caisil annso* (»the victorious career of Cellachan of Cashel [is written] here«).

The text preserved in the Book of Lismore is not, however, the original MS., and it does not even give the original version of the Saga. The original version of a tale is seldom imperfect at the end, as the version of the Saga of Cellachan in the Book of Lismore is. We do, however, know the conclusion of the Saga from paper-copies. But it is, in my opinion, a still more important fact that the sribe of the Book of Lismore only copies the first line of many poems, while the entire poems are found in several paper MSS. These poems are found §§ 42, 44, 45, 58, 66, 75, 77, 78. We may infer that the text preserved in the Book of Lismore and the paper copies of the Saga of Cellachan of Cashel are based upon a common original older them the Book of Lismore. I also mention the end of § 29, where Mór, the wife of Sitric, addresses Cellachan. After her speech the copyist continues:

Ocus adubhairt in laidh. Ocus ní fhuil isin laidh acht innisin in sceoil aris (»And she recited the song; but there is nothing in this song but a repetition of the story«). These last words are merely a note by the transcriber who says that he does not consider it worth while to transcribe the poem in which Mór addresses Cellachan. That the original MS. has contained such a poem is apparent from the fact that it has been preserved in the paper MSS.

The language of the Lismore-text is also remarkably inconsistent. Old an new forms are used indiscriminately, and

the same word is written in many ways. There is no rule regulating the use of *e* and *ea* respectively. The aspiration is sometimes marked, and sometimes not. The same word or form of a word is written in various ways: thus *adaig*, and *aghaid* (»night«); *Magnus*, *Maghnas*; *Tor* and *Tora*; *atbert*, *adubhairt* (»he said«); *asbert* also occurs (§ 77), *tiagait*, *tiaguid* (»they go«); *Cennédig*, *Ceinnédig*, *Ceinneidig*; *do bhédis*, *do bheidis* (»they were«); *slóg*, *sluag* (»host«); *Gaeighilib*, *Gaighealuibh*, etc. More ancient verbal forms sometimes occur, as if they were relics of an older text. Among instances of the infixed and suffixed pronoun I shall only mention:

§ 93 *ni-dam* (the old *ni-da* »I am not« with suffixed *m*). — Professor Kuno Meyer says: »This is perhaps the most interesting form in the text«[1]. — § 87, *Muimhnig ro-t-mor-fhuasluic as* (2 pers.). »The Munstermen have delivered you« (this form of the infixed pronoun is, however, not so interesting, as it occurs in MSS. from the 15th century).

§ 20, *ro-s-dicheann Baiscenn in borb-Lochlannach* (3 sg. masc.), »Baiscenn struck off the head of the fierce Norseman«; § 78, *ro-s-dichenn in deighlaeich*, »and struck off the head of the good champion«.

§ 29, *cred im-a-tuc a shiair do Ceallachan* (3 sg. rel.), »why he gave his sister to Cellachan«. § 18, *cunadh da fhoirgiull sin do can in fili*, »therefore to testify to this the poet sang«.

The text preserved in the Book of Lismore must consequently be based on an older text, written about the same time as the original version of Cogadh Gaedhel (The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, ed. Todd, London 1867).

A fac-simile of the first page of the text in the Book of Lismore is found in »Fac-similes of the national MSS. of Ireland«, ed. Sir John Gilbert (part III, plate LVII). The fac-simile copy is accompanied by a transcript and a translation of the text.

The second Manuscript made use of for the present edition is a MS. preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin ($\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$). It is a foolscap paper MS. in

[1]) Cf. Windisch, Glossar, p. 800

1680 written by William Mac Curtin. The transcript was finished on the 16th of March in the year 1701. The transcriber ends the story as follows: Ag sin tóruigeacht Chealaghain Chaisil Meic Buadhchain *ar na* sgriob*adh* lé hUilliam Mac Cairteain an 16. lá don Marta

Anno Dom*i*ni 1701[1]).

The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel is written on pp. 59—88. The beginning (pp. 59—75) is called *Cathugadh Cheallachain Caisil* (»The Warfare of Cellachan of Cashel«). The continuation (pp. 75—88) is called *Tóruigheacht na ttaoiseach for Chealllachán Caisil Mac Buadhcháin* (»The expedition of the chieftains to deliver Cellachan of Cashel, son of Buadachan«).

The prose of this MS. closely follows the Book of Lismore, but is shorter, and has not the introduction and many of the long, rhetorical descriptions in the Book of Lismore. The tale goes down to the death of Cellachan of Cashel. It contains nearly all the poems of which I have only found the first line in the Book of Lismore.

With this paper-copy I have compared other paper MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, which contain versions of our Saga. I especially call attention to a foolscap paper MS. ($\frac{23}{G.\ 20}$, cf. O' Curry, Bentham Catalogue, pp. 5 ff.). This MS. was written in the years 1791—1799. P. 98 a tale begins called *Cathugadh Ceallachain Caisil re Lochlonnuibh* (»The Warfare of Cellachan of Cashel against the Norsemen«). Another version of the Saga where several of the uncurtailed poems are found is preserved in a paper MS. in 8vo, written in the year 1715, and called *Toruigheacht Cellachain Caisil.* Other versions are found in the paper MSS. $\frac{23}{M.\ 47}$ (1776), $\frac{23}{K.\ 43}$ (1789), $\frac{23}{B.\ 21}$ (1824), $\frac{23}{K.\ 46}$ (1826). All the MSS. are mentioned by D' Arbois de Jubainville in his »Essai d'un catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande«, pp. 84, 88, 248. I have not been able to consult a MS.

[1]) i. e.: Here is the expedition to deliver Cellachan of Cashel, as it was written by William Mac Curtin, on the 16th of March, in the year of the Lord 1701.

from the 16th century mentioned by D'Arbois de Jubainville, p. 248.

A third Manuscript made use of for the present work is a paper MS. in the British Museum (Egerton 106), a quarto of 169 folios, partly written in the years 1715, 1716, by Richard Tipper and John Mac Solly, partly written about the same time by, I believe, William Lynch; a fourth portion was written by the late Edward O' Reilly (O' Curry, Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum, p. 182). This MS. contains (pp. 51—83) a tale called *Cathugadh Cheallacháin Chaisiol re Lochlannoibh. Anno domini* 899. O' Curry and D' Arbois de Jubainville (p. 841) are not right in giving this tale the heading *Cathréim Ceallacháin Caisil* (»The Triumphs of Callaghan of Cashel«). This MS. is imperfect at the beginning. The first words correspond to § 7 of the text in the Book of Lismore: *IS ANN sin do eirghedar na secht ttuatha deg Chaisiol go comhurlamh um Ceallachan mac Buaghacháin.* Most of the poems are also found in entire in this copy. — The tale continues from p. 68 under the title: *Toruigheacht na ttaoiseach for Cheallachain Chaisiol mheic Buaghachain sios iona.* This version relates how Cellachan of Cashel after his delivery plundered the lands of the king of Cenél Conaill of Tara, and continues: *Rangadar as sin go Cáisiol Mumhan 7 do ronadh na crioch go cubhoigh ider na huaislibh 7 ró caithsed an aimsir go suaimhnech osin anonn go bhfúair Ceallachán Chaisil mac Buaghacháin bas ionmholta a cCaisiol; Anno Domini. dhá bhliaghain deag ar naói ccéd; FINIS.* (»After this they came to Cashel in Munster, and the territories were divided suitably among the nobles. And thenceforward they spent the time peacefully and tranquilly, until Cellachan of Cashel, son of Buadachan, found a laudable death at Cashel. Anno Domini 912. The End.«)

I have printed the poems which are not found in the Book of Lismore from the paper copy in the Royal Irish Academy $\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$. The various readings of the Egerton MS. I give in the foot-notes.

Cellachan of Cashel, the hero of our Saga, was king of Munster, or of Cashel (his oficial title). He seems to have begun his reign in the year 934. According to the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of the Four Masters he died in the

year 954 [1]). § 98 of the present work informs us that Cellachan's fight with the Leinstermen took place 42 years and a half after the death of Cormac, son of Cuilennan, king of Munster. Cormac was slain A. D. 907 or 908. The above mentioned battle consequently look place in the year 950 or 951. Cellachan died not long after this. The paper MS. [illegible] says that he died A. D. 952. I believe that 954 is H. t. a. the actual year of his death. [2])

The tale which forms the text of the present work describes Cellachan's battles with the Norsemen in Munster, in Dublin, and in Ulster. It gives many new details as to the history of the Viking-settlements in Ireland. We hear about the Vikings of Limerick, of Cork, and of southern Munster, and get a most interesting description of a naval fight between the Irish and the Norsemen in the bay of Dundalk.

The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel has never before been edited or thoroughly studied, but it is incidentally mentioned by authors such as O' Donovan and O' Curry. They seem to think that the Saga is only a semi-historical tale. I cannot agree with this. The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel must be historical like »The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill«. It cannot be the fabrication of an Irish author of the 12th or 13th century, when the Saga tells us that among the Norsemen of Limerick there was a chieftain from the Hebrides, »Morann, son of the fleet-king (i. e. O. N. *sækonungr*) of Lewis«. In the 10th century there was really a close connection between Limerick and the distant Hebrides (cf. Steenstrup, Normannerne III, p. 213, and the notes to § 16 of the present work). It cannot be the fabrication of an Irish saga-teller, when the poem § 44 mentions the Norwegian king Erik Bloody-Axe, who actually came to Ireland about the time of the battle of Dundalk, and who is nowhere else mentioned by the Annals. And how might it be possible for an Irishman to mention Berserks in the army of the Dublin king, if Berserks had not really existed in Dublin! [3])

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[1]) Four Masters, A. D. 952 (recte 954); A. of Ulster 953 (alias 954).

[2]) Cf. the notes to §§ 4 and 98 of the present work.

[3]) Cf. the notes, pp. 140—141.

But our Saga also contains real Norse names which are nowhere else found in Irish MSS., e. g. *Eiric* (= *O. N. Eiríkr*), and *Turmun* (= *O. N. Þormundr*); the latter name is found on a Danish Runic Inscription, but does not even occur in the Icelandic Sagas. Loan-words from the Old Norwegian, which never occur in Middle Irish, are also found in our Saga. A saga of this description cannot be semi-historical, but must be historical.

The Norse names found in our Saga are:

Amlaïbh = Old Norse *Ólafr* (*A. Luimnech* [A. of Limerick]) §§ 8, 12, 15, 19; *Sen-Amlaïbh* [Old A., of Cork], §§ 27, 63, 69, 89, *Amlaïbh* [of Armagh], § 53).

Danair = O. N. *Danir* (Danes) passim.

Eiric = O. N. *Eiríkr*, § 32 n. (p. 25).

Heuruc (?), § 43.

Ilbhrec, §§ 66, 78, the same name as *Elbric* (cognate with A. S. *Ælfric*)?

Lagmann, *Laghmann* (gen. *Laghmuinn*). From an oblique case of *lǫgmaðr* or *lagamaðr* »lawman«, §§ 53, 85.[1])

Leoghus, *Leoghas* (*Leodus*) = O. N. *Ljóðús*, now the Island of Lewis, §§ 16, 19.

Magnus, *Maghnus*, *Maghnas* (of Limerick, §§ 8, 17, 19; of Dublin, §§ 27, 63, 66, 72, 89. 77) = O. N. *Magnús* (from *Carolus magnus*, Charlemagne).

Oitir = O. N. *Óttar* (A. S. *Ohtere*), § 53.

Sitriuc = O. N. *Sigtryggr* (A. S. Sihtric), §§ 22, 27, 29, 42 n., 43, 58, 61, 62, 63, 66, 72, 73, 76, 85.

Tomar = O. N. *þórir*, § 2, 43.

Tōr, *Tora* = O. N. *þórir*, §§ 27, 63, 66, 77 n., 78, 89, 93.

Turcaill = O. N. *þorkell*, § 53.

Turgeis = O. N. *þorgestr* (cf. Stokes, On the Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals, p. 59), §§ 22, 27, 53, 58, 63, 65, 72, 75 n., 77, 85.

Turmun, *Trumun* (pl. *Tormuinn*) = O. N. *þormundr*, 27, 63, 64, 66, 71, 80, 89.

Irish loan-words from the Old Norse occuring in the present work are:

bord (gen. *buird*, dat. pl. *borduibh*, §§ 74, 77, 77 n., 81), side of a ship. From O. N. *borð*, n. a plank, side of a ship.

[1]) Cf. Whitley Stokes, On the Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals, p. 57.

(O' Reilly: *bord*, s. m. a board, a table; a border, coast, brink, edge. Four Masters 1463).

carbh (gen. *cairbhi*, dat. *cairbh*, §§ 75, 82) a ship. O' Reilly: *carb*, s. m. a ship; *carbhan*, a little ship. P. O' Connell: *carbh .i. long*, a ship or bark or boat; w. *yscragh*. Gaelic *cairb*, a ship [Macleod & Dewar]. From the Old Norwegian and Icelandic *karfi*, m. a kind of ship, warship (a loan-word from the Greek *κάραβος*, = med. Lat. *caraphus*, Russ. *korabl*, Finn. *karvas*, Lappish *garbe*, *garbas*; the word has probably come to Norway from eastern Europe).

cnairr (gen. *cnairre*, acc. pl. *cnairre*, §§ 68, 75), s. f. a ship. O' Connell and O' Reilly: *cnarra*, s. f. a ship. From O. N. *knǫrr* (gen. *knarrar*), s. f. a merchant ship.

coll (dat. *coill* § 4), a hill. From O. N. *kollr*, 1) the head without hair, 2) a hill (Norwegian *kolle*).

iarla, s. m. earl (§§ 53, 57). From O. N. *iarl*.

laoidheang, s. m. [collective] ships (§§ 44, 45 n.). From O. N. *leiðangr*, which often signifies »naval forces« (as opposed to land forces). (The word *laideng* often occurs in Togal Troi in the plur. [l. 535, 1108, 1339, 1425], where it seems to mean ships, cf. Whitley Stokes, Glossarial Index to Togal Troi).

merge (gen. pl. *mergedh*, § 55) ensign, standard. From O. N. *merki*, mark, ensign, standard, cf. *gall-meirge* (Irische Texte 3, p. 69, l. 23).

Persa, n. pl. berserks. From O. N. *berserkr* (see the notes to § 27, where I have tried to explain the word).

sdiurasmann (pl. *sdiurasmainn*, § 72), s. m. helm's-man, steersman. From O' N. *stýrismaðr* (this form of the word is not, however, found in the litterature where *stýrimaðr* is the usual form). — Cf. *stiurusmann* (Three Fragments, p. 116); *stiurusmand* (gen. pl., Togal Troi, 1428); *na stiurasmaind* (acc. pl., Irish Gloss., p. 138). — Hence *sdiuraighecht*, steering.

tile (dat. *tiltibh*, § 71), plank, bottom-board (of a boat). From O. N. *þili*, bottom-board. (Cf. *tile*, pl. gen. *tili*, *tiled*, dat. *tiledaib*, Togal Troi 1346, 1413, 1429).

topta (dat. pl. *toptaibh*, § 71), thwart, row-bench. From O. N. *þopta*, f. rowbench.

I am fully aware of the fact that our Saga does not mention all the remarkable incidents in the life of Cellachan.

Thus, it does not mention that Cellachan was carried away as a captive by king Muirchertach of the Leather Cloaks on his celebrated circuit of Ireland, in the winter 941—942.[1]) Our Saga likewise does not mention that Clonmacnois was in the year 936 plundered by Cellachan and the men of Munster (Four Masters, A. D. 934). The Annals, on the other hand, know that Cellachan was a great warrior. According to the Annals of the Four Masters he in 937 (recte 939) made an expedition into Munster and went as for as Clonard. On this expedition »he had the foreigners along with him«, among whom the foreigners of Port Lairge (Waterford) are especially mentioned. We may conclude from this that our Saga is right when it states that Cellachan got the Viking-colonies of southern Munster as far as Waterford in his power. The present Saga likewise states that Cellachan and his men conquered Limerick. That this is right we can indirectly conclude from the Annals of the Four Masters which are to the effect that in the year 951 (recte 953) Clonmacnois was plundered by the men of Munster, and the Norsemen of Limerick along with them (*co nGallaïbh Luimnigh amaille friú*).« A joint expedition of Munstermen and Vikings from Limerick would never have taken place, if Limerick had not been in some way dependant on the king of Munster.

The war between Cellachan and the people of Ossory is also known to the Annals of the Four Masters who tell (A. D. 938): »At great slaughter was made of the Osraighi (i. e. the people of Ossory) by Cellachan, king of Cashel«. The battle of Cromad (Croom), where Cellachan defeated the Ui Cairbre (§ 25), is also known to the Annals (The Battle of Magh Rath, ed. O' Donovan, p. 340; Genealogical Table, showing the descent of the principal families sprung from Oilioll Olum, king of Munster, col. 2, n. 22).

The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel has no doubt been composed by a man from Kerry, Cellachan's native country. This is the reason why the saga-teller does not mention those exploits which are not flattering to Cellachan. I feel also inclined to think that some of his victories are exaggerated. But that the foundation of the present work is historical, is beyond doubt.

[1]) Móirthimchell Eirenn uile dorigne Muirchertach mac Néill. ed. Hogan, stranza 27—29.

A comparison between the different versions of the Saga will show that the prose differs, but that the poems are the same in all versions. The poems also give details which are unknown and partly unintellegible to the author of the prose. Thus the poem (§ 19) tells that the Island of Lewis is in the power of the Norwegians; the same poem knows two chieftains of the name of Morann, Morann of Lewis, and Morann mac Connra, while the prose confounds the two. The poem (§ 42 n.) mentions *Eiric Righ na n-Innse* (E. king of the Hebrides), who is not known to the author of the prose. Nothing corresponding to § 20, stanza 9, is known to the prose. The facts here refered to are now unintelligible. I conclude from this that the poems are older than the prose-text.

The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel corresponds in many respects to the Saga of Brian Borumha, king of Munster and subsequently monarch of all Ireland, who was slain in the battle of Clontarf, A. D. 1014.[1]) Both Sagas especially describe the wars between the kings of Munster and the Norsemen in Ireland. The Saga of Cellachan extols the Eoghanachts of Kerry, to which race Cellachan belonged; the Saga of Brian praises the Dal Cais (in the county of Clare), whose head king Brian was. The Saga of Brian consists of several distinct portions. Ch. I—XXXIX of this Saga consists of Fragments of Annals. The real Saga begins with ch. XL, describes the youth of Brian and the earlier portion of his reign, until he became monarch of all Ireland. The last portion of the Saga (from ch. LXXX) is a description of the battle of Clontarf and its causes.

The second portion of the Saga of Brian bears especially a strong resemblance to the Saga of Cellachan. It begins, like § 3 of our Saga, with a description of the extent of the Norse oppression. Ch. LXXX (»After the banishment of the foreigners out of all Erin« etc.) corresponds to § 27 of our Saga. The poem printed § 24 in the present work (*Uathad sin a clanna Cuirc*) has the same beginning as a poem in Cogadh Gaedhel (XLVI), where king Mathgamhain of Munster adresses his brother Brian: *Uathadh sin a Brian Banba* (»Alone art thou, O Brian of Banba!«).

[1]) The Saga of Brian is otherwise called *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* (The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill).

The poems of our Saga are introduced by phrases such as: *7 atbert* (*adubairt*) *an laidh* (»and he recited this poem«), or *Cunadh da fhoirgiull sin do can in fili na focuilsi* (»Therefore to testify to this the poet sang these words« § 18). The same phrases are used in the Saga of Brian: *ocus adubairt in laidh* (ch. LII); *Ocus do roine an file an laidh aga foirgell* (ch. LIV); *Conidh ann do rinne an marbhna so* (ch. LXII). Only the first line of a poem is quoted, ch. LXXIX. The editor, Dr. Todd, says: »The poem here quoted was probably so well known at the time that the scribe did not think it necessary to copy more than its first words«.

The poems in this portion of Cogadh Gaedhel must be considerably older than the prose-text. The colloquy between king Mathgamhain and his brother Brian (ch. XLVI) and the poem in celebration of the victory of Sulcoit in 968 (ch. LIV) cannot have been written long time after the events which they describe. The blind bard's elegy (ch. LXII) must also have been written short time after the death of Mathgamhain. It cannot be a fabrication of a later poet that the blind bard incidentally mentions his friendship with Dubhgenn (i. e. O. N. *Svarthǫfuð*), son of king Ivar of Limerick. We may conclude from this that this portion of Cogadh Gaedhel is based on contemporary poems.

This resemblance between the Saga of Cellachan of Cashel and what I call the Saga of Brian Borumha, cannot be accidental. Both Sagas are based on ancient and nearly contemporary poems. These poems have by later Saga-tellers been connected by means of a prose narrative, and transformed into real Sagas. The Eoghanachts and the Dal Cais had, in accordance with the will of Ailill Olum, their common ancestor, »an alternate right to Cashel«, and were rivals for centuries. In the middle of the 11th century a Saga began to grow up about king Brian Borumha and the Battle of Clontarf, based partly on early poems, and partly on prose-tales about the famous battle.

The Eoghanachts meant to have rival claims to the emancipation of Ireland from the Vikings. Their Saga-men told tales and recited ancient poems about their hero, Cellachan of Cashel, and his battles with the Norsemen. These poems and tales must have been formed into a Saga about the same time as the Saga of Brian Borumha, and as a kind of

competition with this Saga. Both Sagas date, I believe, from the later half of the 11th century. The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel is only a little younger than Cogadh Gaedhel.

The description of the battle of Clontarf is based on tales told by men who had taken part in the battle, but it cannot, as Dr. Todd means, have been written immediately after the battle. The episode of Dunlang O' Hertugan and his intercourse with the fairies is unhistorical (ch. XCVIII).

The author of Cogadh Gaedhel must have known the tale called »The Destruction of Troy« (*Togal Troi*). This Irish version of the Argonautic expedition and the Destruction of Troy is preserved in the Book of Leinster, in a transcript from about the middle of the 12th century (and has probably been translated from the Latin about a century earlier).[1] The author of Cogadh Gaedhel not only knows Hector and Priam (ch. XCV, CV), but there is a close resemblance between several passages in the two works. Togal Troi (l. 600—608) describes the assault of Hercules upon the enemy: Then came the rage and the might and the great wrath of the soldier Hersules, and his bird of valour rose over his breath and kept flying round his head, and he made a savage rush (?) at the Trojans, like the outburst of a flood, or like the flash of lightning; and he dealt wounds to them so that each corpse struck against the other, on what way soever he went to the battle«. The author of Cogadh Gaedhel describes the assault of Murchadh, son of Brian, in the following words (ch. CVIII): »He was seized with a boiling, terrible anger, and an excessive elevation, and greatness of spirit and mind. A bird of valour and championship arose in him, and fluttered over his head, and on his breath. And he made an active, vigorous, sudden rush at the battalion of the Danmarkians, like a violent, impetuous, furious ox, that is difficult to catch; or like a fierce, tearing, swift, all-powerfull lioness, that has been roused and robbed of her whelps; or like the fierce roll of an impetuous, deluging torrent, which shatters and smashes every thing that opposes it; and he made a hero's breach and a soldier's field, through the battalion of the Danmarkians«.

[1]) Ed. by Whitley Stokes, Calcutta 1882.

There is also a great resemblance between the Saga of Cellachan of Cashel and Togal Troi. The beginning of the combat between Achilles and Hector is in the latter work described in the following words (l. 994 ff.): »For they knew that it would not be the teasing of little boys about playing-poles, nor that of a peasant with this mate seeking to be spared, not that of a loving couple about the arrangement of one side of their bed, nor that of family friends about caps of ale (*no charat cridechair im choppánaib cormlenna*), the mutual harassment of the two valiant champions of Asia and Europe in the place whereinto would come the mutual thrusting of their spears and smiting of their swords, and clashing of their shields«. The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel begins (§ 77) the description of the combat between Segda and Congal and the Vikings Tor and Magnus in the followings words: »The looks of the heroes were no faces of friends around ale, nor was it a maiden's love for her mate (*Ocus nir aighti carut um cuirm agna curaduibh, 7 nir serc ced-ingine da cele*)«.

A study of the Glossarial Index to Togal Troi will also show that Cogadh Gaedhel and the Saga of Cellachan, when describing armours, battles, ships etc., use the same words as Togal Troi does. It is also, in my opinion, a remarkable fact well worth of attention that Togal Troi contains more loanwords from the Old Norwegian than perhans any other Irish saga text. I here give a list of these words taken from the Glossarial Index, by Whitley Stokes:

elta, *elt*, hilt (from O. N. *hialt*, n.); *fraig iairn*, Whitley Stokes says: »some part of a hero's armour, perhaps an iron dagger« (l. 1544: *Fraig iairn imdangen aithlegtha aci*, »A dagger (?) of strong, refined iron he has«), in O' Davoren's Glossary the same word is written *fracc*, and is said to signify »point or needle« (*fraig iairn* is, I believe, = O. N. *iarn-frakka*, an iron spear); *gler-glas*, bright-blue (W. S.[1]: O. N. *gler*, vitrum); *láideng* (from O. N. *leiðangr*); *lipting*, taffrail (W. S.: borrowed from O. N. *lypting*, summa puppis); *ochor-bord*, edge-board, gunwale, bulwark? (*bord* seems to be borrowed from O. N. *borð*, plank, side of a ship); *serrcenn*, *seirgend*, means accordiog to W. S., »sawhead, some kind of

[1]) W. S., i. e. Whitley Stokes.

ships (it is, I believe, the Latin *serpens*, and is a translation of O. N. *dreki*, m. 1) worm, snake, 2) a kind of warship)[1]): *sess-gal*, seems to be the creaking noise made by the rowing-benches (*sess* is borrowed from O. N. *sess*, m. seat; the size of a warship was indicated by recording the number of *sessar* or »row-benches«); *sith-bord*, bulwark, railboard (from O. N. *borð*); *sraith*, f. street (= O. N. *stræti*); *stiurusmand* (= O. N. *stýrismaðr*); *tile* (= O. N. *þili*).

Does this perhaps show that it is not Cogadh Gaedhel and the Saga of Cellachan which have imitated Togal Troi, but Togal Troi that has been influenced by tales of battles between the Irish and the Norsemen? If this is right, Cogadh Gaedhel and the Saga of Cellachan must be older than Togal Troi, and must, although they are of different origin, in early times have formed part of a now lost Saga of celebrated Munster kings.

In my edition I have tried to follow the original as closely as possible, only with some few alterations: The printed text has been punctuated: contractions have been extended, but the extensions are expressed by italics: proper names have been spelt with initial capitals: the transported *t* and *n* have been separated by a hyphen from words beginning with vowels: a hyphen has also been used to separate the præposition *i, a* »in« from a following *n* and to connect this *n* with the following word if it is separated from it, in the manuscript; e. g. *a-n-Ard Macha* (the MS. writes: *an Ard Macha*): an apostrophe has been used where a vowel has been dropped, and, lastly, the article, possessive and persona pronouns, conjunctions, and negative particles have been severed from the words to which they are respectively prefixed or suffixed in the manuscript.

My edition would never have seen the light without the kind assistance of several gentlemen. Professor dr. A. Torp, and Mr. Magnus Olsen, of the university of Kristiania, have read some of the proof-sheets of this book and given me the

[1]) *Draic*, a dragon, occurs also i Middle-Irish in the meaning of a war-ship: *Amail draic di* thuind cen tāir Niall mac Echach Muigmedain »Like a dragon-ship from the wave without a flaw was Niall the son of Echu Mugmedon« (How King Niall of the Nine Hostages was slain (§ 11), ed. Kuno Meyer, Otia Merseiana II, p. 85).

benefit of their advice. To Dr. Whitley Stokes I owe many valuable suggestions based on his profound knowledge of Irish, and I am likewise much indebted to my father, Professor Sophus Bugge. During my stay in Dublin, I got kind assistance and advice from my Irish teacher, Mr. O' Farrelly, who has helped me with a part of the translation, and from the officers of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, especially from the sub-librarian, Mr. J. Mac Sweeney.

I am deeply indebted, more than to anybody else, to Professor Kuno Meyer, of the University of Liverpool, whose kind assistance has made it possible for me to finish the edition and translation of the present work. Dr. Kuno Meyer has with great care read all the profs of the Irish text and of the translation; he was translated and corrected parts of the text which I was not able to understand, and in many other ways given me invaluable assistance.

It may seem bold in a man, whose own studies lie in another direction, and who is not an Irish scholar, to publish a work like the present. The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel is, however, of so great an importance to the students of the Viking Ages that I hope that competent judges will excuse my deficiencies.

CHRISTIANIA, March 1905.

ALEXANDER BUGGE.

Caithreim Ceallachain Caisil anuso.[1]

1. [Fol. 148 a, col. 1] Airdri oirrdhirc airdmhenmnach roghabhustar flaithius 7 forlamus for dhá coiged Mumain dar ainm Airtri mac Cathail meic Finguine. IS re linn rogabatar Lochlannaig nert artus for Eirinn. Acht rofhuaradar catha 7 coinblichta o aimsir Airtri gu caemaimsir Cheallachain. *Ocus* ba hiat so na righa robhatar for Chaisiul frisin re sin 7 fad a bhflaithiusa 7 na hoigeda ruc iat.
2. Airtri mac Cathail .xx. bliadain. 7 ecc atbath. Fezlimid mac Crimthain VII. mbliadhna XX. for Mhumain 7 for Eirinn 7 d'éc do chuaidh tre escaine Chiarain moir meic in tsaeir. Olchobar mac Cinaedha IIII bliadhna. IS e robris cath Sceith Nechtain ar ghallaibh inar marbad da C. X. dhibh um Thómar iarla 7 d'ecc dho (sic) chuaidh. Maolguala mac Dunghaile VII mbliadhna 7 goill do mharbh he. Ceannfaeladh mac Mochtigirn VII mbliadhna. 7 d'eg do chuaidh. Donnchadh mac Duibh-dha-boirenn ceathra bliadhna. 7 d'ecc do chuaidh a Caiseal. Dublachta mac Mhaeilguala VII mbliadhna 7 a ecc da thamh ina choirmthigh. Finguine mac Laeguire VII mbliadhna 7 a braithre fein da mharbadh tre leathol fleghi. Cormac mac Cuilennain VII mbliadhna 7 Laigin da mharbadh a cath Leithlinde. Flaithbertach mac Inmainein VII mbliadhna. XXX. 7 d'ec do chuaidh. Lorcan mac Coinnligain bliadhain gu leith 7 d'ec dochuaidh.
3. Ba hiatso cisa 7 cana na n-gall n-grandha o mhiledaibh Muman .i. ri ar gach tricha 7 taisech ar gach tuaith. ab ar gach cill. maer ar gach mbaili suaitreach gacha tighe. Gan coibeis line ein-chirce ag duine da biadh fein na da digh gan brat gan blaithedach um righ na um romnai

[1]) This title is only found in O'Curry's copy, and not in the original manuscript.

athbuaid 7 aitheduighi na n-Danar 7 na n-daer-Lochlannach gan saithe gan saeircleirzig gan leabhair gan laimhinna [148 a., c. 2] ar eclais na a mur na a muintir acht Danair ina tempuibh 7 ina ceallaibh 7 ina caemhdhuintibh. gan feallsaim gan filid gan oirfidigh ag leanmhain dlighidh na duthchusa a n-deighrigh tar grain na n-garbh-Lochlannach. gan ingin righ na rofhlatha na thaisigh dho lamhachtain druine na dhilsi na dheghlamhda. Gan mac righ na taisigh do lamhachtain luith na lamhachtain na langhaiscid do dhenam na dh'fhoglaim. Gan flegha gan scinleanna do lamhachtain do Mhuimhnechaib do thabhairt da cing na dha comharsoin acht muna bheith tar fuigheall na fir-anflatha sin fria re aeinbliadhna dec 7 VII. XX. bliadhna doibh amlaid sin .i. on naemad bliadhain do fhlaithius Airtri meic Cathail cu haimsir Lorcain meic Conligain.

IS annsin do eirig in caemhri curata cathbuadach cosantach do dichur na docraiti sin 7 do chosnamh na crich re cathaibh Lochlannach .i. Ceallachan mac Buadachain meic Lachtna meic Artghaile meic Shnedhgusa meic Donnghaile meic Fhaelghusa meic Nathfraeich meic Cholgan meic Failbhe meic Aedha duib meic Creamthaind meic Feilimidh meic Aengusa meic Natfraeich meic Chuirc meic Luigdech meic Oiliolla flann bic meic Fiachaig muilleatha[i]n meic Eogain moir meic Oiliolla oluim. Doigh o Airtri gu haird-Bhriain nír saerait curid nait cricha na Muman do reir scriptra na scelaige. acht a-nderna in colglaemdha Ceallachan da cosnamh. Ór as e an fer sin do bhi bliadhain co leith ag iaraidh na Muman idir choill 7 chnoc 7 caeimghlenn. Idir linn 7 loch 7 lanabhuinn idir chuan 7 chaemhthraigh 7 caladphort. idir lis 7 laechdhun 7 lethantuaith gach Lochlannaig ag iaraid dhérce in gach dun 7 caisced in gach cathraig cu bocht ara bhinncleircheacht 7 a thiagh brec ima bragait ag brath gacha baili 7 ag deighiaraid gacha duin innus gu mbeith eolus a hiath 7 a hes 7 a hurchoilltedh aigi in uair dobered air a crich do chosnamh co nar fhagaibh aenbhaili brugaid na biattaigh an da coiced Muman gan tadall gu mbeith ainm gacha baili [148 b., c. 1] 7 gacha tuaithe 7 fis gacha flatha feruinn aige. Ocus tainic ar n-iaraid na crich gu Caisiul or is ann do bhi a mathair 7 ba ben do comarba Caisil in

caeimrighan 7 tar a chenn doronad Ceallachan. Ocus an bliagain cu leith do bhi Ceallachan ag cuartugad na crich do bhi sisi ac tinol airm 7 eidid 7 innmais 7 ag fosdad ceithearn 7 caeimhtheglach. Ocus as e lin do bhi luingthi lancengailti aici V .C. fer n-armach.

INla do riacht Ceallachan cu Caisil ar bhfaghail na socraiti sin do. as e sin la do bi mor-shocraite dha choiced Muman a nGlenndamhuin Chaisil ag togha righ 7 dar leo rob e Ceindeidig mac Lorcain do righfaitis. Or is e ordugad airdrighi do bhi idir clainn Eogain mhoir 7 clainn Cormaic cais. an fer ba sine dona saerclannaib in righi dho. Damad do clainn Eogain in t-airdri in tanaistecht do clainn Cormaic cais. Ocus damad do clainn Cormaic in caemri in tanaistecht do clainn Eogain mhoir. Gan righi do neoch dibh acht min bhudh e bhudh fhearr fis 7 firleigenn 7 flaitheinech dona fialchuradaibh. Ocus dobatar in la sin ag togha righ 7 doraidh a mhathair re Ceallachan. rochtain da n-indsoigid 7 cu rachaid fein roime 7 gu n-indeosad do Ceindeidig 7 do caem-Donnchad a scela-sum 7 in tan do bhédis maithe Muman na suidi. esium cona muinntir do techt fo ghléri arm 7 eidid 7 gheill 7 aideri dh'iarraid orro 7 a radh re Ceinneidigh in cert do chuimnigud.

Taínic an righan roimpi gu Glennamuin 7 ar rochtain di and adubairt re maithibh Muman. Cuimnigidh an comordugad do rinnne Cormac cas 7 Fiacha muilleathan idir a morclannaibh. Ocus ata do clainn Eogain fear as sine dh'aeis 7 dh'fis ina thusa a Cheinnédig 7 is ri ar deilbh 7 ar denam he. Ro fiafraig Ceinneidig cuich e. adubairt an rigan gur bo mac do Buadachan he 7 do rinne in laidh.

Cuimnigh a Ceinneidig chais.
dail Fhiachach is Cormaic chais
gur fhacsat Mhuman do roinn
gu cert idir a caemchloinn 7 rl.

O'tchualatar miledha Muman na moirbriathra sin 7 aithesc na hingine adubratar [148 b., c. 2] clann Eogain in t-oigrí do tabhairt cuca gu righdais he. Facbhais Ceinneidig in chomhdhal or nír mhiadh 7 nír mhaisi leis in

righi d'airimh dh'fhir ele uadha fein. *Ocus* dono nir mhiadh leis a bhrathairsi do bhriseadh. *Ocus* facbhais Donnchad in duma o'tconmaic taisigh na tuath ic togha Ceallachain. ISed do raidsed nach troitfidis fris uair nach cis na cain na caentabhuch fogebhudh nech dhibh aisdi. achi a laumhaithius do Lochlannachaib. 7 do chosnaidis tein hi 7 do falmhaighed marsin.

IS andsin ro eirghedar na VII. tuatha déc gu desurrlamh do coimrigad Cheallachain. 7 tucsad a ghairm righ 7 ro altaigset don fhirdhia fhurorda a fhaghail. ISiat ba ferr dona flaithib sin. in seingmhilla Suilleaban re gcenel bhfeaguch bhFingin. *Ocus* in reabach Ribhordan re clainn data Donnghaili. *Ocus* in crodha Caellaidi. *Ocus* in laechmilid Laindacan. *Ocus* in dedla Duineachaidh. *Ocus* in calma Cuilen. *Ocus* in t-adhmhar Eigertach. *Ocus* in lainnghnimach Lighan. Rancatar na maithi sin gu Ceallachan 7 tucsat a lamh ana laim 7 roghabhsat a mhind righ uma cenn 7 romheduighset a mhenmannna ica mhoirfheghadh air ba ri ar rodheilbh he 7 ba breithium ar bimbriathraibh 7 ba seanchaidh ar fhis 7 ba leoman ar loindghnimhuibh.

Cid tra acht ro agaill Ceallachan clainn Eogain 7 adubairt friu cogad calma do dhenamh leis 7 adubratar gu n-dingnidis. *Ocus* adbertsat innsaigid co Luimnech da loscad X. C. fer a lín 7 o rangadar do chuirset fis uathaibh co laech-Amhlaibh Luimnig 7 gu clannaibh Comra .i. gu Moran 7 gu Maghnus 7 gu mor-Lochlainn da radh riu Luimnech do luathfhacbail no braighdi do thabairt doibh-sium.

O ro siachtadar na techta cu laechrad Luimnig ro ghabsad ag fochuitbed 7 ised ro shailedar nach coisenta Muma na Luimnech amhain friu gu brach. *Ocus* adubratar no bhertais in cat[h].

O atchualatar clanna Eogain sin ro agaill in saershluagach Suilleban iat 7 adubairt friu calma 7 cruaidirghal do denum [149 a., c. 1] re Loclannchaibh 7 a righ do rocoimhet isin ruathar sin 7 adubairt re huaislib na n-Eoganacht.[1] Na cluinet clann Cormaic cais comthaighi an bhar comhraidhtib 7 na cluinet clann Eachach anmfainne an bar n-airecaibh 7 coiminnsaighidh in chaithirghal 7 tabhraidh

[1] The full-stop is not found in the original, but put by the editor.

bur c*é*d-chat[h] gu calma ag cosnu*m* bur tire duth*aig* re Danaraibh. Madh ro*m*uibh b*hus* raen 7 b*hus* ruathar catha *ar*na curadhuibh budh libh fei*n* bhar lesa 7 bar litha 7 bar laith*ra*ca. biaidh Luimn*ech* an bhar lai*m* 7 Caisiul an b*ar* co*m*orb*us* 7 M*uma* gabar maithibh m*ad* lib cosc*ur* i*n* catha so aniugh 7 mi*n* bha[dh] libh ni fhaici*m*-si iath na in*ad* *ar*ais icabhur maithibh madh maid*m* ar b*ar* mil*ed*aibh 7 madh leon*ad* ar bhar laechr*aid* isin laithi so inniugh. IS ui*m*e si*n* is coir dhaibh-si cosnu*m* 7 c*ur*ut*acht* fria laecr*aid* Lochl*ainn*. *Ocus* doron*ad* in laidh ica n-gr*e*ass*acht*.

Ticidh cu Luimn*ech* na long.
a cl*ainn* Eog*ain* na n-ardglonn.
a ti*m*ceall Cheall*achain* cai*n*.
gu Luimn*ech* na cloch cengail.

Cosnaidh bhur crich dileas dil.
a cl*ainn* Oili*o*lla i*n*mui*n*
ag cath Lui*mn*ig na long luath.
saeraid Mhumai*n* na morthuath.

Cosnaidh Ceall*achan* gu cr*u*aidh.
ri b*ar* tire saer bhar sl*uaig*.
na leicidh tos*ach* catha.
do a n-ag*aid* na h*an*flath*a*.

Ticedh Ribordan r[e]achach.
ro*m*uin*n* san chath chomhramhach.
ticedh Caell*aid*i cr*od*ha.
ticeadh Lighan lainbheodha.

Ticedh Dui*n*ech*aid* dathach.
is Fog*ar*tac[h] armdhathach.
ticedh Lain*n*eachan na leas.
ro*m*ui*n*n san chath cr*u*aidh choimhdheas.

Ticedh Do*n*nch*ad* ruadh*as* rann.
ro*m*ai*n*n cu laecr*aid* Lochl*ann*.
ocus Cuilen na cath cr*u*aid
ua Eoghain b*er*eas blathbhuaigh.

Aedh mar Cuill cura na cliar
tiredh romhuinn re n-guin gliagh.
is Aedh mac Ailghinain fhinn.
tiredh in ri reidh romhuind.

Raghat fein tri ceand colg.
romhaibh gu Morand morborb.
is muirbfet daibh laech na land
na righ theagacht Fuarlochlann.

Eirghidh a dream data dhes.
dan dual Muma na moirleas
cosnaidh Caisiul gu n-dene.
re sluagh Lochlann lainngheire.

Na cluincdh Ceinneidig cas.
mac [149 a., c. 2] Lorcain na lann nuaghlas.
bur n-irghala gu tlaith tim.
a shluagh Caisil cleathaluind.

Na cluineadh Donnchad 'ga thoigh.
mac caeimh hi Caeim comhramhoigh.
sraeincdh catha gu claen cam
orainn o laechraid Lochlann.

Secht tuatha dec desa dhuid.
a mheic Buadachain blathbhuig.
trcinfer gach tuaithe tinne.
do clainn Eogain againne.

Cuirther libh in cath gu cruaidh.
a fhiann Muman gu moruail.
bentar libh bur n-iath a braid.
a fhian Mhuman as dibh thic. Ticidh gu Luimnech na long

11. IS andsin ro eirghetar clanna Eogain gu crodha ciallmar curata ima caemri im Ceallachan cum an chatha. Ocus do coraighhedh gu calma ag na curaduibh bro bhadhbha bithaluinn bhuanaicmheil bratac Ocus sonn sesmach sithremhar sleagh 7 tor tenn triathonchonta taisech 7 grimne

gasda gadha*mail* gormlan*n* 7 lon*n*bhuaile ladhach lín-anart uman laechr*aid*. ár ni rabhut*ar* gor*m*ait nait glan-luir*ech*a gu n-gasr*aid*. ac*h*t m*ad* i*n*air cua*n*[n]a coirthar-blaithi 7 cotui*n* 7 mui*n*cedha maiseca ming*r*esacha re diden corp 7 cnes 7 caei*m*cen*n*.

12. IS and do cor*aighedh* ag laechr*aid* Loc*hlainn* son*n* trom treab*ar*dhaingen t*r*enluir*ech* 7 dún dluith duaibhseach duibh-iarai*n*n 7 cathair clogudghlas c*r*uadhfhaebr*ach* chaith-sciath 7 ruadhbhuaili remharc*r*a*n*n um laech-Amhlaibh 7 u*m* Lochlain*n* 7 u*m* Moran*n* 7 um Maghn*us* ár ba hiat-sei*n* ceat*hra* cuingedha catha na laechr*aid*i Lo*chlainn* si*n* 7 .IIII. c. a coi*m*eirghi g*ach*a cur*ad* dibh.

13. IS ann do chuiredar clanna echt*ach*a Eog*ain* a ce*n*n i*n* muighi gu moraici*ntach* fa a cae*m*ri fa Ceall*achan*. 7 tuc-adar corrana a sciath tara cheli 7 tucs*at* snadman[n]a niadh ara le*th*ancresaibh a leanm*ain* da chele 7 dochor-aighset na VII n-deighfhir dec ba huaisli dona hard*m*aithibh a timceall in righfhlatha da rochoimhet. 7 do eirigh rect aicn*id* ana righ 7 ferg ana bhfei*n*neadhuibh 7 me*n*ma 'na mi*l*eda*i*b 7 lui*n*ne ina laechaibh 7 c*r*od*acht* 'na cur*ad*aibh 7 g*air*gi ana n-gilla*n*r*aid*.

14. Cidh tra o dho riachtadar a n-oig 7 a n-eir*rid* 7 a n-aes feig foruallach [149 b., c. 1] a n-urthos*ach* na hirghaile do chaithemh a cloch 7 a caelshoighet 7 a coirrshl*eg* da gach leith dona laecr*aidh*ibh 7 do leiceadh lar in mhuighi dona mil*edai*b 7 lathar an chatha dona curadhaibh 7 i*n*adh na hi*m*gon*a* don*a* ha*ir*seduibh. *Ocus* o do riactad*ar* cuingedha cae*m*Lochl*ainn* 7 mil*e*da Mumh*an* cu hait na hursc*laid*i roghabhad*ar* ag rodi*nged* a ruaidsl*eg* 7 ag laechbual*ad* a lorg 7 ag comthuarc*ad* a claid*em*. Acht chena ba lethtrom in lanchomhrac sin. Ár ro tollta cuirp 7 cnis 7 c*r*idhedha na n-gasr*ad* n-glan Mhuimn*ech* gu luath t*r*esna línanartaib 7 ni ghabhdais a la*n*na lanfhaebhr*acha*-so*m* na Lochlannaig t*r*e gharbhdhaingne na n-gor*m*luir*ech* 7 ni l*e*traitis na lorga na laech 7 ni chirraidis na claid*im* na ci*n*d ar c*r*uaidhi na cathbh*arr* icca coi*m*dhiten 7 tucsat na Lochlan*naig ara* mora ar Mui*m*nech*aib* re hath*aig* don lo si*n*.

15. Cidh tra o'dconnaic Ceall*achan* na mil*e*da aga m*ar*bad 7 na c*ur*aidh aga comach 7 na laeich aga l*e*trad 7 clainn Eogh*ain* oca n-airleach do eirigh a b*r*ath 7 a bhar*ann*

[illegible] bhreithemhnacht 7 rugasdar ruathar rofhlatha tre rabhartha rofheirgi 7 saerclanna sil Eoghuin oca imdhiten gu maithibh na Lochlannach. *Ocus* ro siacht Ceallachan gu cath-Ambhlaibh 7 roghabastar gres a n-garbluirigh in gaiscedaigh gur leag a cathbarr fo a bhraghait 7 gur scoilt in ceann[n] [illegible] na cenadbhuille gur thuit in Lochlannach leis.

16. IS annsin do riacht Suilleban cona tri l. calma curata caemhfher ar colgaibh oca cosnam 7 rucastar bern bruitti borbainbthenach tre laechlar catha na Lochlannach. IS annsin do eirg in tuir gan turbrodh 7 in tren gan trethad 7 in leoman gan lagad gusan la sin .i. Morann mongach muintirgharbh moirmenmach. .i. mac righ loingsi Leoghasa co tri c curad 'na coimeirgi 7 ar rochtain dona maithibh do tuairgeadar a cele gu neimhnech naimdighi nertchalma. Cid tra saidhis Suilleban an sleigh tar brollach na bocoidi 7 fo cimuis in cathbair[r] [149 b., c. 2] isin churad cu tarla co luath isin laechbraghait gur chuir in cenn ar comus in caithmhil 7 dichennais in daeighfher 7 beris leis in cenn gu Ceallachan da commaidhiumh 7 adrochratar muinnter in Lochlannaigh isin gleo sin.

17. IS annsin doriacht Donnchad 7 degh-Mhaghnus do comrac isin caithirguil *Ocus* do comhtuaircetar na cinn dona cloidhmhibh claislethna 7 ro leadairset na scheith dona lorguibh lantroma 7 do gonsat na cuirp dona craisechaibh. acht cena adrochair Magnus le mor-Donnchad.

18. IS andsin do riacht Lochlainn 7 Ribordan ar beluibh Ceallachain do comrug *Ocus* do riachtadar gona áithgera aicmhele o Lochluinn ar laec-Ribordan. O dho gonad in gaiscedac 7 o do treaghdadh in treinfer o'dconnuic nar ghabhadar a airm in t-airsidh bui na agaid rucastar Ribordan laechruathar gu Lochlainn 7 ro treic a claidem 7 a choirrshlig 7 ro chuimhnigh a urgna aith iarannngorm 7 tarraid ichtar luirigi in Lochlunnaig gu coimdhes ana clelaim 7 tuc tarraing tinnesnach don treinfer gu ledair leabharbruinne in laeic gur leicedar a abuch 7 a inathar as 7 dichennais in deigfher[1]) 7 commaidis in cenn. Acht ata ni chena rotuitset an cethrar crodha caitmiled sin do laechraid Lochlainn 7 ro fhacbhatar na laeic na laitrecha

[1]) [illegible] with a dot under th .d. wich means that the letter is cancelled.

7 romheabhuidh dona mil*edaib* 7 innsaig*edar* co Luimn*ech* da luath-co*n*mhail. *Ocus* is t*re* deir*idh* na Lochlannac*h* do chuatar maithi na Muimn*ech* isin mbaili. cu n*ach* rai*n*ic o*n*a Lochl*a*nnch*aib* na doirrsi do dun*ad* gur m*arbad* isna tighibh 7 isna toraibh na t*re*infhir 7 tuccait a mna 7 a m*a*ccaemha 7 a muint*e*ra a mbroid gu maithibh na Mui*m*n*ech* 7 ro ti*n*oilset or 7 airg*et* 7 ilmhai*n*e in baili 7 tuc*ait* cin*n* 7 cosc*air* 7 cathfhaidhbh na curad gu Ceall*achan* 7 ro taispen*ad* ci*nn* in cethr*air* fa huaisli do*n*a Lochl*annchaib* dho. Cuiadh da fhoirgiull sin do can i*n* fili na focuil si ag in*n*isi na n-echt 7 na n-aithes 7 ac tuiri*m* ar marb*ad* dona morLochlannch*aib* 7 ar mill*ed* dona Muimhnech*aib* isin morchath co*n*debhairt

19. [150 a., c. 1] Crodha sin a c*hlainn* Eog*ain*.
isat lonna b*ur* leom*ain*.
caemh bhur righ ac techt on chath.
Ceall*achan* cr*o*dha coscrach.

Crodha Suill*eb*an na sluagh.
m*ac* Maeil Ugra na n-arm ruadh.
ar m*arbad* Morai*n*d mhong*aig*.
a crich Leogh*us* Loch*l*on*naig*.

Crodha Donnch*ad* d*e*rg a dreach.
dar marbh se Maghnas muirn*ech*.
is do imir air a fhe*arg*.
gu n-drochuir in laech laimd*e*rg.

Crodha Ribordan na ran*n*.
leis ad*r*ochuir laech n*a* lann.
Moran*n* m*ac* Con*n*ra creach*aig*.
d'fhorthuaith Eog*ain* airdbreth*aig*.

Do thuit le Ceall*achan* cas.
Amhlaibh Luimn*ig* na la*n*n n-glas.
ocus trica le gui*n* n-go.
da muin*n*t*ir* isi*n* moirgleo.

Cet rel laech la cruaidh a cath.
do shluag Lochlainn gan lanbrath [1])
as e lin do marbad libh.
do shluag Luimnigh longadhbhail.

Fr. cl. curad ceim nar gann.
do shluag Mumhan na morlann.
is e lin do thuit san cath.
dar n-gasradhaib gu n-glanrath.

Ni dul do Bhuadhachan binn.
d'ua Aedha na n-arm n-alainn.
o dho fhacuibh mac gan go.
Ceallachan chosnas a chro.
Crodha sin a clainn Eoghann.

Asa haithle sin ro tinoilcd na crcacha ag na curadaib. *Ocus* adubhairt dream acu anadh in n-oighthi sin isin mbaili 7 innsoigid arnamharach gu Caisiul da creachloscad. Adubairt Suillcban risna saershluaghuibh dul in-aghaid sin gu Corcaig airm a rabatar a ngeill 7 a mbraigdi cu nach soichdis fesa nait techta rompa. Do cinnedh an comairli sin ag na curaduib 7 rangadar in agaid sin gu Corcaig. Tancatar Danair 7 Duibhgeinnti in bhaili da n-indsaigid do chathugad friu 7 do brised in cath arna Duibhgheinntibh danardha 7 ro hairgedh in chathair leisna curadaib 7 rucsat a mbraighdi asin mbroid a rabhadar. Do batar fir Muman in oighti sin a Corcaig ac caithemh a flegh 7 a fuirlin (sic) 7 do bhatar tri trath isin baili 7 ro triallsat d'innsaighidh Caisil. *Ocus* ag dula seach uillinn Shlebi Crot doibh do tinolsat fir Mhuighi 7 hi Chuanach 7 buannadha na Lochlannach cuca 7 tucsat cath doibh 7 do brised in cath la feruibh Muman 7 do marbad IIII. c [150 a., col. 2] dona buannadhuibh 7 da socraidi. *Ocus* nir mhair dona X. C. do bhatar clanna Eogain ag cath Luimnig acht tri C. isin lo sin. *Ocus* gabuit rempa ag creachad gacha criche gu rancatar cu Durlus. *Ocus* tinoluit Ele [2]) tuaiscirt 7 Ele deiscirt na coinne cu Durlus do thabhairt chatha doib 7 Danair an dúnaid leo. O't-

[1]) In the original the word is written *lanbrau*. [2]) This *Ele* has no accent in the Original, but only in O'Curry's copy.

cualat*ar* hua Luigd*ech* 7 Eoganac*ht* si*n* rothinolsa*t* C. Ceall*achan* da chab*air* um Cuile*n* mac Ai*n*diaraidh m*ic* Dun*adaigh* um thais*ech* a tuath 7 do riachtadar i*n* da thuaith sin *con*a treinferuibh *ar* ghaib 7 *ar* colguibh v. C. a lin ag rochtain Ceall*achain*. Ferth*ar* cath eturra 7 na hEil*i* 7 roghabhad*ar* san ri Éle in la si*n* 7 romarbad na buan*n*adh (sic) Lo*chlainn* leo 7 domarbad da C. do cla*inn* Eog*ain* isin lo si*n*. Ro creachs*a*d in c*r*ích 7 nir-loisc*e*t i*n* baili. *Ocus* tiagait ro*m*pa gu Caiseal. se C. a lin. *Ocus* do riacht Do*n*nch*ad* mac Caei*m* gu Caisiul na gcoi*n*di 7 do agaill Ceall*achan* hé 7 do chuimhn*ig* a gcaradradh 7 do gheall a seal don Mum*ain* do 7 tu*ar*asdal a dingmhala 7 atb*er*t an laidh.

21 Mu chean a Don*n*ch*ad* dhédla.
a ua Eogain *air*mghegda
na br*ís* ar mb*r*aitairsi bin*n*
a ua Oililla Oluim.

Na morLochlan*n*a*ig* nar g-cen*n*.
a ua Ecach n*a* n-orlan*n*.
na laghdaigh do chin*edh* fei*n*.
a ua Mhogha gu moirmhein.

IN bhf hidir ua righ Mum*an*.
do shil Catail na cur*ad*.
cia g*ar*dheal*ad*[1]) sin*ne* fris
o ata athaigh nar n-ecmais.

Aeng*us* m*ac* Natfr*aei*ch do cr*oi*d.
san tir si *ar* te*cht* do Phadr*oi*g
is aigi doscaradh sind.
a ua Oililla Oluim.

Eoch*aid* 7 Feilim*id* oll.
da m*ac* Aenghais ba h*ar*dglo*n*n.
acu mb*r*athairsi co *m*buaigh.
a Donnchad na cr*e*ach cathcruaidh.

Triar is da choic*er* gan coir.
uai*m* gu hAengh*us* ua n-Eog*ain*.

[1]) Written gardheal-.

dia choicer is fer rofes.
maithsi Aenghus na n-*aird*leas.

Aesin nalus a bhfine.
a Domchad gu n-drichghile
is nir caillcd e o shoin.
ag clannaibh aille Eoghoin.

Fada bratharsi bhunaid.
naitsi gaich laeic Lochlunnaig
as gar a naimhdius cu neim.
duit a ua Chathail cloidhmheigh.

Gabhail do sheanathar sheing.
do shluag Lochlainn ar Laeic-Beirn
is guin h'athar cian ro clas.
do shluag Lochlainn linamhnas.

150 b., c. 1 Tabhrum araen glun re gliagh.
dithaigheam iat diaig a *n*-diaigh.
na leicem Muma na *m*buadh
do shluag Lochlainn lanarmruadh.

Dober-sa tuarasdal tenn.
duit a ua *aird*righ Eirenn.
is tect lium a cenn chatha.
a n-agaid na hanflatha.

Ced claidiumh 7 c. sciath.
c. mogad re fognum triath.
c. cathbharr 7 c. ech
duit a ua righ na Muimnech.

An truagh leatsa a Donnchadh dhil.
a ua Oiliolla inmuin
mna Mumhan a mbroid gan go.
Lochlannaig ag breith a mbo.

Mo. cen.

1. RÓ ghabh tra Donnchad na comtha sin o Ceallachain 7 is amluidh do ghabh iat 7 cuing chatha Caisil do lecad le 7 gan Ceallachan do thecht ann Ocus tucadh in cath le

Donnchad 7 do brised for Danaruibh he 7 domarbad cc. acu ann 7 do bhatar in oighthi sin i Caisiul 7 do chaithedar flegha 7 fureca na n-Danar 7 na-n-Dublochlannach. Ocus doronad comairli leo isin mhaduin arnamharach .i. innsaigid gu Port Lairgi airm a rabhatar mna 7 muinntera na Loclannach 7 in baili do loscad. 7 tiaghait gu faighthi Phuirt Lairgi. Ocus ba hesin la do riacht Sitriuc mac Tuirgeis gu Port Lairgi. lucht se long 7 c. an gach luing dhibh 7 ni riachtadar acht an tir intan rosiacht tosach sloigh Muman isin morbhaili. Ro hiadhaid na doirsi ag na Danaruibh 7 ro fhobradar in cathraig do cosnamh. Cid tra nír tarbha tachar risna treinfheruibh or do ling Ceallachan 7 caem-Donnchad 7 Suilleban 7 Ribordan 7 mileda mera moirghnimacha Muman isin mbaili. Ocus ro dluthmharbad na Danair leo 7 ro ledrad na Lochlannaig 7 ro fhaguib Sitriuc in baili 7 ro innsaigh a luing 7 a ben leis. Ocus ni riacht acht einced esbadach leo ina longaibh. Ocus ro loiscedar sil Eogain in baili 7 ro creachsat an crich. Ocus tiaguit assin i crich na n-Deisi 7 gabhuit geill 7 aideri Domnaill meic Fhaelain Ocus doronsat cleamnas 7 caradrad fris 7 tucadh Gormlaith ingen Buadachain do. Ocus tiaghuid as sin i crich hua meic Caille 7 hua Liathain 7 rogabsat a mbraigdi. Ocus rucsat slogh na crich sin leo a crich Eoganachta Locha Lein 7 do creachsat an crich Ocus rucsat na creacha sin leo a Muscraidhi 7 rucsat na h-Eoganachta orro ann 7 do marbad ri Eoganachta ann .i. Aed mac Scannail 7 v. c. d'Eoganacht 7 tucsat na crecha [150 b., c. 2] cetna leo cu da righ Aesa hIsde 7 tucsat geill doibh 7 tancatar fein leo i crich Iarmuman .i. a n-Aes Irrais Ocus tuc Conghal mac Annrathain ri Irrais deabaid do thosach in tsloig 7 do marbad cc. ann.[1]) O dho riacht Ceallachan 7 saerclanna sil Eogain isin cath do gabadh Conghal leo 7 domarbad moran da muinntir 7 do creachsat in crich 7 do batar innti cu cenn caeichdighis 7 doleicset Congal amach 7 roghabhsat braighdi uaidh.

23. Tecaid iarsin i crich Ciarraigi 7 do ronsat creacha na criche. Tinolsat Ciarraigi na coinne 7 na Lochlannuigh

[1]) There is a vacant space in the original, probably because the transcriber of the Book of Lismore has not been able to read some word in the MS. from which he made his copy.

do shluaghadh uatha a cath Luimnigh roime 7 tecait gu Gleann Comhraighi ana comhdail 7 do chathaigset ann 7 tucsat ann mora ar clannaibh Eogain. 7 gia tucadh do facbhadh la hathlathair acu 7 do gabhudh Concubar ri Ciarraigi i sin 7 do badar gu crodha caithesbadach a haithle in catha sin. IS in lo sin rothinoil Flannabra mac Ciarmacain ri hua Conuill na coinne do thabairt ghiall doibh fein d'eirmaic a n-uaite shluaigh iat as i comairle doroine. Imighidi an cath d'iarraidh orro. Ocus intan do bhatar olum in catha is ann do riacht Donncuan mac Coinneidigh gu Cealluchan da chabair ár is ann bai inn agaid roime sin a tigh Uaisidi meic Cathail righ ua Cairbre 7 ar rochtain do ro ghabh ag fegad na n-Danar 7 na n-eachtrann Ocus do fhailtighset clanna Eogain oca fhaicsin 7 do raidset ris a chonnailbhe do chuimnigud Ocus do geall Cellachan ua Conuill do fein ara cosc isin caitirghuil 7 ro fhaem Donn Cuan sin or ba holc lais clann Eogain d'oirleach 7 d'uathugad 7 atbert an laidh.

[Donnchuan] Uathad sin a clanna Cuirc.
munuar do cirred bhur cuirp.
7 ro faenad bhur bhfhir.
a cath Luimnig longadbhail.

Dar linn do marbad bhur sluaigh.
a clanna Eoghuin armruaidh.
7 do sraeined bhur suinn.
a shil Oiledla Oluim.

Truagh nach tanac isin cath.
a shluaig Caisil gu caemrath
suil tainic Ciarraigi ann.
7 sluag laecda Lochlann.

[Cellachan] O nach rucais orainn ann.
a Dhuinn Cuan na ced cathbharr
coisc dinn i Conuill crodha.
7 tracth a tinola.[1])

[1]) The three first stanzas seem to belong to Donnchuan, but the following ones to Cellachan.

Cui*m*nigh a n-dernsad*ar* thuaid.
Mogh Corb is Fiacha fuair b*uaid*.[1])
m*ac* Eog*ain* or sil*ad* sinn.
is m*ac* Cormaic cais cuilfhind.[2])

[151 a., c. 1] Guin Eoghain 7 Aedha.
do Mogh Corb ba dail daen*n*a.
m*ac* Dimchadh[3]) i*n* air*m* dathaigh.
7 mac da mhor-ath*aig* (?)

Denum *ar* n-dis a caem chais.
a n-derna m*ac* Cor*m*aic chais.
7 m*ac* Eog*ain* gan fheall.
Fiacha Muilleathan moirsheng.

Doghen is tu a chaeimh crech*aig*.
a ua Eoguin *air*dbhreath*aig*.
a n-d*er*nsat an dias ga*n* fhuath
o tharla dúin bh*eith* gu huath. Uath*ad* sin.

25. Is an*n* sin dub*air*t Ceall*achan* re Don*n* Cuan gan rí o Conuill do mh*ar*b*ad* da tecm*ad* ar a com*us* he. Tuc Don*n* Cua*n* a b*ri*athar n*ach* ainecadh duini a cath na a comhl*ann* giam*ad* cara dhó he roime *Ocus* do chuad*ar* cu*m* an catha dh'aentaeibh. Ro gab*ad* Flannab*ra* m*ac* Ciarm*acain* leo 7 tuc*ad* *ár* mor ara mui*n*nt*ir* 7 do meab*aidh* in cath ar Conallchaibh 7 do creach*ad* an cr*ich* le Ceall*achan* 7 do ansa*t* a n-ibh *Con*uill i*n* oighthi si*n*. Do thinoil Uaithne m*ac* Cathail 7 hi Chairbre 7 *ar*'mhair d'ibh *Con*uill gu C*rom*ad na gcoin*n*e do thab*air*t catha 7 in uair do badar cum i*n* catha do thabhairt is an*n* doria*cht* Don*n*ch*ad* m*ac* Caei*m* v. c. fer da bhfurtecht. Do cuir*edh* i*n* cath 7 do marb*ad* ri o Cairbri an*n* *Ocus* anait siu*m* a Crom*ad* in ag*aid* si*n*. Rotinoilset da Corcamruadh 7 da Corcobhaiscinn gu C*rom*ad da n-in*n*saig*id* ór ni fh*ed*ad*ar* n*ach* roibhe cuid do Cei*n*deid*ig* isna cathaibh 7 do c*uir*ead*ar* techta gu Ceall*achan* d'iarr*aid* catha fair. O'tcual*aid*

[1]) The original has.*b*. [2]) The two last words are written above the line, and in the line is written: *Oililla Oluimm*, which words are again cancelled. [3]) O'Curry in his copy writes in the margin: *Duinchad (?)*.

Ceallachan sin adubairt re Donn Cuan dul ana n-agaid gan .. leicen doibh cathugad do denam fris 7 dorinne in laith.

Nocha n-ingnadh clanna Cais.
do cosnam in tuinn fodglais.
o thegaid Cuirc na cuaine.
do treid mear bhfonn bhferuaine.

Cid tra o dho riacht Donn Cuan da n-acalluim do locadh in cath 7 do chuaidh Ceallachan gu Caisiul 7 ro thinoilset fir Mhuman na comhdhail ar n-dichur na n-Danar 7 na n-daer-Lochlannach asa cathrachaib 7 asa caemduintibh. ISe rainic ar-tus ann i. Ceinneidig mac Lorcain gu maithib Dail-Cais 7 tucadh tanaisdeact Muman 7 a righi tareis Ceallachain. Do caithseat flegha Caisil cu soinmheach socair annsin Ocus do cuiredar feasa uatha dh'iaraid [151 a., c. 2] a cisa 7 a cana ar Osraidi .i. ar Donnchad mac Ceallaigh Ocus ba fada do bhi in cis soin gan tabhuch o mhil-Muman i. aen-bliadain dec 7 VII. XX. bliadain. in cein do bhui an crich ag Danaruibh. Ni tucsat Osraidhi cís doibh 7 o nach tucsat ro creachsat som an crich Ocus ro brisetar IIII. catha for Laignibh isin bliadain sin Ocus isin cethramad cath do gabhudh Donnchad mac Ceallaigh leo 7 tucsat Osraidhi bragdi da eis.

Ar certugad na crich do Ceallachain 7 ar n-dith a bhidhbudh as e eolus do innsaighedar na Lochlannaigh co hAth Cliath 7 doníat comairli ann 7 as iat ba ferr dibh an tan sin. Sitriuc mac Turgeis 7 a braitre i. Tor 7 Magnus 7 Turgeis 7 in Lochlannach ladhuch 7 in Lochlannach na lann 7 Sean-Amlaibh 7 Linn-Turmun na huidhi 7 Lind-Turmun na Pers 7 mac righ Findlochlainn 7 mac righ Fuarlochlainn Ocus as i comairli doronsad techta do cur co Ceallachain 7 Bebinn ingin Turgeis do gheallad dho 7 a radh ris dul co hAth Cliath da tabairt 7 co leicfidis sium crich Muman gan imchosnum dho Ocus is aire doronsat sin ar daigh Ceallachain do ghabhail doibh 7 do mharbhudh ar chuaid leis Ocus ro leicset in comairli re righ Eirenn a hucht na Lochlannach i. Donnchad mac Floind ri Temrach

ár nír aemh Ceall*achan* cis na cai*n* do 7 ro aentaigh ri Eir*enn* in chomhairlisin 7 do cuirit techta gu Ceall*achan*.

28. Do fhiafraigh Ceall*achan* do maithibh M*uman* cred do ghen*ad* uimesin 7 adubhrat*ar* ris dul an*n*. Tinoilt*er* sluagh lin*n* ar Ceall*achan*. 7 eirgem i*n*ar cathuibh coraighthi co hAth Cl*iath* 7 na heir[g]iu*m* isin du*n* anun*n* *acht* tab*ar* an ben úd cugai*n*d amach. Ni hedh as coir *ar* Ceinneid*ig* *acht* eirgsi IIII. XX. m*ac* righ an*n* 7 beimítne a Caiseal nar co*m*nuidhi or ní fhuicfiu*m* Mu*m*a gan coi*m*et 7 ni fhuil a n-Eirinn lis Lochl*annach* n*ach* roichfiu*m* da bhfealltar f*or*tsa. Doronsad aml*aid* 7 do chuaidh Ceall*achan* IIII. XX. m*ac* righ an*n*.

29. Ba hísi*n* oighthi dorala co*m*radh idir Sit*r*iuc m*ac* Turgeis 7 a ben 7 rofhiaf*r*aigh a ben de c*r*ed imatuc a shiair do Ceall*achan*. 7 g*ur*ubé do chuir ár na Lochl*annach*. adubai*r*tsiu*m* nach ar mhaithe ris *acht* da ghabhail fein 7 do mharb*ad* a mhuint*ir*i. Eirghi*us* an i*ngen* gu moch [151 b., c. 1] isin m*ad*ain *ar*na m*ar*ach 7 ro ghabh a heirr*ed* cu*m*uili uimpi ór ba crádh le i*n* comhradh sin do cual*a* 7 rogradh Ceall*achain* aice fei*n* 7 rofhacuibh in baile 7 tai*n*ic isi*n* slig*id* *ar* shaeil fir Mum*an* do th*echt* O*cus* m*ar* do bhi an*n* gu bhfacaidh Ceall*achan* da hin*n*saig*id* 7 ro in[n]is an*n* i*ngen* na scelasin do *Ocus* do fhiaf*r*aigh Ceall*achan* di cuich í fei*n*. Mor i*ngen* Aedha m*eic* Eachach misi *ar* a*n* i*ngen* ingen righ In*n*si Gall[1]) 7 Sit*r*iuc m*ac* T*ur*geis mu cheli dona Fin*n*lochla*nn*chaibh 7 tuc*us* g*r*adh duitsi in-la atcon*n*ac a-Portlairgi thu 7 adubhairt in laidh O*cus* ní fhuil isin laidh *acht* in*n*isi*n* in sceoil *ar*is.[2])

[1]) The original has no capital letters in this name.

[2]) The poem is found in a paper-copy in the Royal Irish Academy, $\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$ p. 68, from which I here give the text, and in the British Museum MS., Egerton 106, p. 59. The variants of the Egerton MS. I give as foot-notes.

Sgéala aga*m* dhuit a laoich loin*n*[1])
a ua Oiliolla[2]) ólui*m*

[1]) Eg. luin*n*

[2]) Eg. Oilioll.

50. Do Thuaidh*ibh* Ceall*achain* da muin*nt*ir cidh dogen*dais* IS *e* adubrad*ar* gan dul isin mbaili 7 *an*digailt fein *ar* muchar*ibh* 7 ar mormaguibh 7 in fad do rachdais in ben do br*e*ith leo. O'teon*n*cat*ar* n*a* Lochl*annaig* sin do fuac*ra*dar da roibhi isin mbaili a leanmhuin idir chois 7 each O*c*us ni cian rang*adar* .i. Ceall*achan* 7 a meic righ intan rug tos*ach* na Lochl*annac*h orra.

51. IS an*n* sin adub*air*t Aedh m*ac* Do*m*nuill hui Faelain 7 Domnall na Neill Mhuighi Da cho*nn*. ataim*m*ne fiche fer dona Deisibh an*n*so 7 anu*m* ar-d*e*r*e*dh chaich 7 dighlam

a rígh Múmhan na long lúath.
a Ceall*ach*ain n*a* [caem-]cuach.[1])

Da n-deacha[2]) t*us*a go hÁth Cliath.
a rígh dár[3]) fíorbhuidhe*ach* fiach
nocha ttiocfar arís ar[4]) ccúl.
a righ Mumhan n*a* mórdhun.

Do rin*nedar* cómh*air*le chruaidh.
Clan*n*a Turgeis teas is tuaid[5])
an Áth Cliath na ccliat[h] ccath[a][6])
re Donnch*ad* dr*e*ach d*egh*fhlatha.[7])

Do mh*ar*bh*adh* do ráidh go mbrígh.
an fe*ar* ó thigh an ríoghthrír.[8])
sa rachaidh[9]) [leat] a measg Ghall.
do shluaghaibh th'iath is t'fe*aran*n.[10])

Glór[11]) mo chéile do chuala.
a fh*ir* dá n-déant*ar* dúan*a*

1) Eg. has this line: a Ceall*ach*ain na ccaoi*m*chuach.
2) Eg. rach*aidh*.
3) Eg. dán.
4) Eg. a.
5) Eg. has this line: a chlanna Turgeis theas thuaid.
6) Eg. ccatha.
7) Written d7fhlatha.
8) Eg. a righ thrir.
9) Eg. rach*aidh* leat.
10) Eg. th' rairn.
11) Eg. Gloir.

sin*n* fei*n* suil b*e*rius t*r*omla*ch* in tslu*aig* orain*n*. *Ocus* do ansa*d* 7 do*m*arbhsa*t* XX. laech Lochla*nnach* 7 ní riacht beo ameasc a muin*ntir*e dibh *acht* cuic*er*.

32. IS annsin do an Aedh m*ac* Donnchada me*ic* Caei*m* 7 Sbelan m*ac* Suille*bain* 7 Muirc*ertach* mac Mu*ir*c*er*taigh 7 do m*ar*bsa*t* XX. fer 7 ni thainic beo dibh amesc ar mu*in*t*ir*i act triur.

33. IS annsin do an Aengu*s* m*ac* Aissidha 7 Don*n*cha*d* m*ac* Conchuba*ir* 7 Fianghal mac Co*n*ghail 7 do mha*r*bhsat XX. f*er* 7 ro m*ar*bhuit fein an*n*.

sa rún madh rígh*edh* n-geal.
a rígh Múmhan na mói*r*shlegh[1])

Ceall*a*-*chan*. Cíodh ón cía th*u*sa a bhean bhin*n*.
a inghion uallach áluinn[2])
cía hé h'athar. caidhé t'fer.[3])
ar Rígh Mumhan n*a* moi*r*shl*egh*.

Chór (sic) mh'ain*m* an*n* gach baile buan.[4])
inghion Aodha fa gealgr*u*ad
Sithrioch mo chéile an*n* gach cath.
M*ac* Turgeis n*a* ttréanch*r*each.

Do radas g*r*ádh dod[5]) ghnuis de[i]rg.
a bhPortlairge ar an laochlei*r*g
dot chródhacht[6]) trés na cathaibh.
dod[7]) mhéid id*er* Múimhneachaibh.

Má theid tusa soi*r*[8]) ar fea*cht*
a Airdrígh dá ttugas sea*r*c
do gheabh*ar* lot *ocus* leán.
nocha lin*n*e nách drochsgeal.

[1]) Eg. mórshlegh.
[2]) Eg. adhluin*n*.
[3]) Eg. has this line: cuich é hathar. caidhé th-ur bhur.
[4]) Eg. has this line: Mór mainm-si an gach baile buan.
[5]) Eg. dot.
[6]) The MS. has *do chródhas*, which gives no meaning. The reading *dot* is taken from Eg.
[7]) Eg. *dot*.
[8]) Eg. idir.

34. IS ann sin do ar Cudubh mac Failbhe 7 Donnchad mac Muircertaigh 7 Finn mac Etersceoil 7 do marbhsat moran dona Lochlannchaib 7 do marbait iatsom.

35. IS annsin roloigh imarcraigh na laechrad Lochlannach ar in laechraid Muimhnig 7 ro gabhudh Ceallachan 7 Dondcuan leo 7 rucad gu hAth Cliath iat. Ocus intan do riachtadar faighthi in baili adconnaicc Ceallachan fer cuigi 7 cenn ana laim 7 faidhbh san laimh ele 7 do fhiafraigh do Ceallachain cuich an cenn. Cann Aedha mheich Donnchada meic Caeim sin ar Ceallachan Ocus cáinfid clanna Eachach in cenn sin ar se.

36. [151 b., c. 2] Atconnuic fer ele cuice 7 cenn 'na laimh 7 do fhiafraigh do Ceallachain cuich é. Cenn Spealain meic Shiullchain ar Ceallachan 7 cáinfit caimrighna Caisil in cann sin.

37. Atconnaic fer ele cuigi 7 cenn 'na laim 7 do fhiafraigh cuich e. Aithrech leam fer an cinn sin do tabairt lium ar Ceallachan .i. Aengus mac Aissida 7 caínfid clanna Cairthinn finn in cenn.

38. Atconnaic fer eli cuigi 7 cenn 'na laim 7 do fhiafraig in cétna do Ceallachain. cann Aedha meic Domnaill hi Fhaelain sin ar-se 7 cáinfidir isna Deisibh fer an chinn sin.

39. Atconnaicc fer ele cuigi 7 do fhiafraig cuic[h] in cenn bui 'na laim. Cenn Muircertaigh meic Muircertaigh ar Ceallachan 7 cáinfit mna Muscraidhi in cenn sin.

40. Atconnaicc fer ele cuigi. 7 ro fiafraig de cuich in cenn so. ar se. Cenn Donnchudha meic Concubair sin .i. meic righ Ciarraigi Luacra 7 cainfid clanna Ceir in cenn sin ar Ceallachan.

41. Atconnaic triar chuigi 7 tri cinn ina lamhuibh 7 do fhiafraigset do Cellachain cuich iat. Cinn tri mac righ Corcoduibhne sin ar se .i. Cudubh mac[1]) Failbhe 7 Aedh mac Segda 7 Fianghal mac Conghail 7 cainfit clanna Cuirc meic Cairbri na cinn sin ar Ceallachan.

42. Atconnaic fer ele cuigi 7 do fiafraig in cetna de. Cenn Donnchada meic Muircertaigh sin ar se .i. mac righ Eoganachta 7 cáinfid clanna Cairbri Cruithnigh in cenn sin Ocus cenn Find meic Eidersceoil in cenn ele sin 7 cáinfid clanna Luighdech in cenn sin Ocus na taispenad

[1]) This and the following contractions are written $\overset{c}{m}$.

damsa feasda iat or ni tualui*n*g mhé b*eith* ica bhfegadh 7 gin gur gon*ad* libhse mhe is marbh mé do gonaibh na bhfer ud 7 t*rua*gh n*ach* bas fuaras na bhfar*rad* 7 atb*ert* in l*aid*.

Dursan na cinn gan colla[1]).

[1]) The first line of this lay only is given in Lismore. The rest, printed below, is taken from $\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$, p. 69 f.: the poem is also found in full in Eg. 106, p. 60 f., from which the different readings are printed as foot-notes.

Dursan n*a* cein*n* gan cholla.
uim a[1]) silfid déara don*n*a
níor bhaoth[2]) gér fhortil na f*ir*.
do fhaoth m*ar*craidh shíl E*o*ghuin.

Aodh m*a*c Don*n*chada gan ceann.
dursa[n][3]) fuil *ar*a thaobh seang
ó caoim ua[4]) Chathail chneadhaicc.[5])
óig ghlaniódhn*a* g*ar*gshleghaicc.[6])

Ceann tSuibhne tugabh*ar*[7]) libh
a bhuidhean so do Ghallaibh
M*ei*c Suilliobhain dearg*as* gai.[8])
dursan leam ó Mhaoiliura.[9])

Truagh lea*m* ceann an[10]) fhuilt chlea*cht*aicc.[11])
Mui*rc*e*rtach* M*ei*c Mui*rc*e*r*taicc
go foll*us* an geal glonnach.
ar chum*as* na Lochlon*n*ach.

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[1]) Eg.: ina.
[2]) Eg.: ghaoth.
[3]) Eg.; dursan.
[4]) Eg.: O.
[5]) Eg.: cneghach.
[6]) Eg.: fhl*egh*aigh.
[7]) Eg.: thugsabhar.
[8]) Eg.: M*a*c Suilebhain dh*erg* gasuga.
[9]) Eg.: Mhaoilughra.
[10]) Eg.: dhle*cht*aigh.
[11]) *an* omitted in Eg.

ASa haithli sin do fhiafraigh Sitruc do Ceallachan in bhfuasleacht is Muimhnigh c. Créd in fuasladad ar Ceallachán. Fuasculad nach bha tualaing iatsom dh'fhagail i na A catha dec do briseabhairsi orainne eraic in gael einfher dar marbad innti Ocus da .c. dec domarbad rath Sceith Neachtuin um Thomar iarla le hOlchobar ma

Aithreach leam a theacht leam [1]
an deaghfer adchiu gan cheann
ba caomhdhos a ród ríogha.
Aonghus óg Mac Aisíoda

Ceann dá ttugadar mná spéisi.
Ceann deaghmaic Righ na n-Déisi
a thaobh a n-doghruing ó [2] ghaibh.
Aodh [3] Mac Dómhnaill í Fhaoláin

Fianghal Mac Conaill Creachaigh.
Mac óighrígh [4] go n-árdbhreathaib
biaidh [5] mna na n-Gall dá chóinedh. [6]
go atá a cheann dá cómaoidheamh

Dob iomdha adhbhar deaghsgeoil.
ar Fhionn ar Mac Eidersgeoil
mór bhfer dá ionnsuighe lé [7] gaibh.
fear an cheinn sin ad lethlaimh

Truagh leam [8] cómaoidheam a cheinn [9]
deaghmhac rígh [maighe] cCoinchinn [10]

1) Eg.: Aithreach liom a thoighecht liom.
2) Eg.: ré.
3) Eg.: Aodh.
4) Eg.: oirrigh.
Eg.: béil.
6) Eg.: chaoinedh.
7) Eg.: ionnsoidhe ré.
8) Eg.: liom.
9) Eg.: na chinn.
Eg.: moighe cCoinchinn.

Cinnaedha eraic in g*ach* einf*ir* dhibh 7 fadhbh *ar*son na faidhbhe. Corcach 7 Luimn*ech* 7 PortLairgi 7 Caiseal ana n-dui*n*tibh dhuin*n* m*ar* do batar again*n* roimhe. Mac g*ach* righ 7 g*ach* taisig an da coic*ed* Mumhan duin*n* a-n-gill ris si*n*. ISedh ro raidh Ceall*achan* [152 a., c. 1] leag*ar* mhisi 7 Don*n* Cuan a comh*air*li 7 Aistrechan m*ac* Ail-

bá raon a n-deb*aidh* lé gá.
an deagh-fher Aodh m*ac* Séaghdha

Ceann Donnch*adha* tug sibh libh
a bhuidhean so[1]) do Ghallaibh
bhia temheal ar mo dhe*ar*caibh.
ó oigh*idh* Meic Muirc*er*taicc.

Dursan ceann ann[2]) bhur ccomha[i]r
Donch*ada* Meic Conchubh*air*
fiann*u*ighe *ar*[3]) nár bhrigh n*a* ba.
M*ac* Righ Ci*ar*ruidhe Luachra

Comaoin dibh goin an chein*n*.[4])
deaghmhac Riórdáin[5]) áluin*n*
iomdha fe*ar*t ó lamhaibh a[6]) athar.
ar fud Mumhan na morttachar[7])

Saoth[8]) lio*m* an ceann an bhúr laim.
ceann Spioláin í Shuiliobhain[9])
ní doilge lea*m* ceann eile.
ceann Domhn*a*ill í Neill bhúighe

1) Eg.: a bhuidhionn-sa.
2) Dg.: an.
3) Eg.: fian oighe.
4) Eg.: cinn.
5) Eg.: Réobhardain.
6) Eg. omits *a*.
7) Written m⁰ttachar.
8) Eg.: Gaoth.
9) Eg.: hi Shughlemhain.

gusaig gu cuirmis d'innisin na comhthadh sin he 7 innister duit cia port a bhfuightear sibsi da bhfaghthar dhaibh iat. A n-Ard Macha ar Sitriuc or is-ann berthar thusa dot coimhet. Do leicedh a comhairli iat 7 adubairt Ceallachan re hAistrrachan na comtha sin d'innisin do Muimnechaib Ocus atbert in laid.

Innis a Aistrrachain áin [1])
|d'fraibh Múmhan, is dá mnaibh

[1]) Only the first line of this poem is found in the Book of Lismore, but it is found in full in $\frac{23}{H.\ 1.\ a.}$ p. 70—71, from where I print it here between brackets, and in Eg., from where I print the different readings as foot-notes.

Lé rómhéd thaisbleántaoi dham
do cheannaibh macaomh Múmhan
ge ataim[1]) beó do cradhadh sinn[2])
ní as mó a n-ariom ní fhéduim

Ma congmhaidhsi[3]) mé a ccuibhreach.
ó theasda an mharcrad Muimhneach
trnag nach ann fuaras mo ghoin.
a measg shaoirchloinn síl Eóghuin

Déantar mh-óighedh as cead leam.
is oighedh Dhuinn Cuain mar aon riom
ciodh pudhar teasda mo sheal.
do shluagh Mumhan is dursan

Truagh gan Mór do teacht liom.
inghion Rígh innsi Fionnghall
mé do bheith ar breith a soir.
noch an libhsi nach dursan.

Dursan.

[1]) Eg.: taim.
[2]) Eg.: craidhaé.
[3]) Eg.: congbhuisi.

a rígh do beith an Áth Cliath.
ag Sithrioch n*a* cc*éd* ccro*m*sgiath.

Bé*ar*aidh Sithrioch leis t*ar* tuin*n*.
soi*r* go Lochluin*n* laoidheang-dhuin*n*.
a ccuaich[1]) 'sa ccuirn chama.
a bhfailge 'sa bhfithciolla.

Muna ttugaid dó uile.
sgéithe is cloidhmhe cúmhdaighthe[2])
a ttabh*air*t dho Shithrioch t*ar* ttuin*n*.
do chion*n* Cheall*ach*ain chle*a*thchuirr.

Braighde Múmhan cíos a hiat[h].
rachaid ar aon go hÁth Cliath
Mac g*ach* taoisig is g*ach* rígh.
ar f*cdh*[3]) Múmhan na moi*r*ghníomh.

Corcach is Luimneach longach.
is Port Lairge lánton*n*ach
mar aon re Caisiol cladhach.
do Shithrioch luath lánlochlonnach[4])

Cath Sgeithe Nea*cht*uin go calma.
do bhris Olchubh*ar*[5]) amhra
mar cuir*edh* dá chéad déag.
do Lochlonnaibh a luathéag.

Béartar do Sithrioch thré*d*ach.[6])
ó thug se a éitheach
a ccomhall sin alle.
lé hÉiric Righ na n-In*n*se.

1) Eg.: A ccuacha.
2) The four lines from: *a ccuaich* - to -- *sgeith* - follow in Eg. in a different order. First comes *muna* . . --, then *sgeithe* -, then [illegible], and then *a bhfhailge* . . . .
3) Eg. has: fuidh.
4) Eg.: lan thoicthach.
5) Eg.: Olchumhar.
6) Eg.: Shitric tré*d*achach.

Donnchaidh a n-geibhlibh[1] na nGall.
Mac Cheallachain na ccaomhlann
braighde Mumhan leis go h-
idir thaoisioc is treinrigh.

Ag sin an abair rinne
Mac Turgéis go ttrénluinne
muna ttugaid sin alé.[2])
do muirfidh se an Airdrighe.[3])

Innis. Ocus rl.|

Ocus raidh a Aistrechain re feruibh Muman gan na comhtha
id do tabairt uatha 7 cosna[id] crich Mhuman 7 righaid
Ceindeidig mac Lorcain 7 raidh riu na briathra tucsat in
la do fhaebussa Caisil do chuimhnigud 7 cosnait sinne a
nert lann 7 luirec. Ocus raidh re clannaibh Cuirc coim-
eirghi mhaith do dhenum.[4]) Ocus raidh re Donnchad
mac Caeim toidhecht dar n-iarraid co hArd Macha. Ocus
tecat clanna Eogain ann ria gcach 7 tabrad gach taisech
maithi a thuaithi 7 a fherainn leis. Ticedh ann Donn-
chad mac Caeim meic Airt meic Cathail ria clainn Echach
Ocus ticeadh MaelFothartaigh mac Floinn. ticedh Suille-
ban mac MaelUgra ria clanna Fhinghin. Ticedh ann
Donnchad mac Duineachaid meic Fhianghusa. Ocus Ri-
bardan mac Aissidha 7 Donnchad mac Domna[i]ll 7 Donn-
chad mac Lorcain 7 Domnall mac Cathail 7 Eigirtac mac
Cormaic 7 Cú calma mac Cindfhaelaid. Ticeadh Cuilen
macAindiarraid 7 tabrad clanna Failbhe leis. Ticèadh
Muircertach mac Murchada. Ticed Fogartach mac Fianamla
gu maithibh ua Muiredhaigh leiss (sic). Ticed ann Domnall
mac Diarmada 7 Fiana mac Feicine. Ticed ann Cuan-
achtach mac Con gan mathair 7 tabrad Eoghanacht Airr-
thir Cliach leis. Ticed ann Conaing mac Larcadha 7
tabrad ua Cathbaidh leis. Ticed Fergal mac Elaigh 7
tabrad clanna Scalbaigh leis. Ticed ann Annchadh mac
Dunchada. Ticed ann Flannabra mac Airindan meic

[1]) Eg.: a n-gimlibh.
[2]) Eg.: alle.
[3]) Eg.: go muirfe an airdri.
[4]) This line — from: Ocus raidh re — dhenum, is omitted in O'Curry's copy.

Flannabra 7 tabrad ua Conaill leis. Ticed ann Ceithearnach mac Ceileachair meic Comáin. Ticed ann Ceann Faelad mac Duibh-da-boirenn 7 tabrad ua Cairbri leis. Ocus adubairt an laid ann.

Innis do clannaib Eoghuin [1])

[1] The rest of the poem is only found in $\frac{23}{H.\ 1.\ 15.}$ p. 72—73, from which I print it, and in $\frac{23}{G.\ 20.}$, p. 111.

Innis do chlannuibh Eoghuin
don fhuirinn fhéiléolaicc
a n-áirdrígh dá bhreith bo thuaidh.
go ró Lochluinn leabharbhua[i]n.

Innis d'Eoganuibh uile.
idir righ 7 ródhuine
mé dom bhreith ag Sitric tar tuinn.
soir go Lochluinn laoidheangdhuinn.

Muna thísiad suinn na sluaigh.
fo chenn aoinn mhís bo thuaidh
go roichid Árdmacha mbinn.
Ni bhfághaid sinn a-n-Éirinn

Tionólaid clanna Chuirc cháoimh.
Eóghanacht Chaisil chladhcháoin
sul rugadís tar muir amach
a-n-áirdrígh cródha cosgrach.

Tigidh clanna Eóguin óig.
d'iarraidh a rígh tre rómhóid
ó thuinn Chliodhna na ttreas ttrom.
go habhainn dá bho bennchorr.

Donnchadh mac Caoimh na ccreacród.
Mac Áirdrígh na n-each n-árdhóg
tabhrad san sluagh gan oil.
clanna Eacach féil adhmhair.

Orus intan tair leat clanna Eogain d'agallad 7 do tinol co haeinnad innsaigh romad gu [152 a., c. 2] righ Dhail Cais ar Ceallachan .i. gu Ceinnédig mac Lorcain 7 raidh ris anmhain ag cosnum criche Mumain cunach dernat Connacta a catharcuin 7 abair re hUaithnig 7 re hUrmhumain techt isin tinol Ocus innsaigh cu hEilibh 7 raidh riu anmain ac cosnamh criche Mumhan 7 abair re a tigerna .i. re Cerbhall mac Dublaidhi meic Ceannamhain gurub ag Oilioll ar mbraithairsi Ocus innsaigh gu clannaib Connla .i. gu sluaghuibh Osraidhi 7 raidh riu Muma do coimet o Bladhma bhudhes co muir 7 coimetad Ele gu

Tigedh ann Donnchad donn.
ocus Súilliobhán súlchorr
mar aon re Duinneachán dian.
ocus Eigertach ar aonrian

Tigedh ann Riórdán reábach.
a shluagh chrodha comhramhach
Tigedh lucht tighe an righ libh.
ceithre-ched do chaoimhferaibh.

Siól Eachach siol Fhinghin fhéil.
tigid uile ar aonréin
tigedh san sluagh treabhaid.
haoi meic Caille is í Liathain.

Haoi cConuil (7) hi cCairbre ccruaid.
tionólaid sin líon a sluaigh
tigid í cCormuic ón tuinn.
ar cheann Chealłachain chleathchuir.

Ionnsaigh go Dún bán Bailc.
baile a mbid cearrda an chaomhfuilt
Is tabhair leat ó Loch Léin.
an dá Eoghanacht d'aonmhéin.

Raidh dam re Fergal fearrdha.
déanaid tionól thréanchalma
sul bearthar uatha a loing.
Ceallachan soir a hÉirinn.

Bladma amail do ní (sic) do gres Ocus innsaigh cu sluaguibh na n-Deisi 7 tecait 7 Muscraidi isin mhorshlogad Ocus amar tháir leat Ceinneidig 7 clanna Eogain d'agallad innsaigh damsa gu taisecaibh mo loingsi 7 tuc leat iat co Sruth na Maeili 7 madh da mberar mhisi a hEirinn gu bhfaghat fir Mhuman a longa dom leanmain áir ni cora do laechraidh Lochlann (sic) crodhacht ag cosnamh ar crichi-ne ina do miledaib Muman calma do denum ag cosnamh a criche seom 7 agar n-dighailtne orro. indsaigh ar-tus co tri righuibh Corcolaighdi. gu Flann 7 gu hEiterscel 7 gu Cobhtach 7 gu Dubh-dha-boireann cu righ iarthair o n-Echach. gu Seghdha 7 gu Failbhe 7 gu Conghal cu tri righuibh Corcoduibhne. gu Concubar mac meic Bethaig gu righ Ciarraigi Luachra. gu Domnall 7 gu Baiscinn gu da righ Corcobaiscinn. gu Conchubar 7 gu Lochlainn gu da rig Corcamruadh 7 tabhrat .x. longa gacha tricha .c. leo or ase-sin[1]) coimtinol ar cabluigh-ne.

47. AS a haithle[2]) sin do gluais Aisdrechan roime gu Caiseal airm a rabhutar mileda Muman 7 do innis na scela sin doibh .i. Ceallachan 7 Donn Cuan do ghabhail 7 na. IIII. fichit do cuaidh leo do marbad. Ba cumhthach cenntrom ciamair do bas acu som deséin o't cualatar gabhail a n-glainnrigh 7 marbad a macraidi. Ro agaill Aisdrechan iat 7 ro innis na haitheasca do chan Ceallachan .i. a fuascalad á nert land ocus luirec 7 leathainsciath 7 gan Muma do chur fa dhaeiri na fa docraiti do Danaruibh na do daerLochlannchuibh Ocus adubairt riu na briatra tucsat [152 b., c. 1] an la do fhacuibh Ceallachan iat do cuimnigud 7 do innis doibh Ceallachan do breith cu hArd Macha da mhorchoimhet. O at chuala Donnchad mac Caeim na comraittisin adubairt re clainn Cormaic cais connailbhe do denamh 7 re clannuibh Eogain innsaigid d'iarmoracht a righ 7 re clannuibh Cairbre coimheirghi 7 re clainn Luigdech langhaisced 7 re clannuibh Ferghusa firuaisli 7 re clannuibh Ceallachain comdhuthracht 7 re clannaibh Fiachaigh Suidhe (sic) sairthinol. Cidh tra ar Donnchad damad iat bur treoin 7 bur taisichsi do biaidh i laim ag Lochlannchaib do

[1]) Written aresin.

[2]) Instead of the *h* a dot, usually denoting aspiration, is written.

tinnoiltedh Ceallachan slog da bar n-iarraid 7 do berad catha da bur cosnam or tucsomh .v. catha dec ar Danaruibh gabar cosnam .i. in ced cath dibh a Luimnig 7 in dara cath a Corcaig 7 in tres cath oc Sliabh Crot. In cethramad a-n-Durlus in coicedh[1]) a Caisiul in seissed a Port Lairgi in sechtmad a Muscraidi in t-ochtmad a-n-Ard Osraidi in noemad a-n-Glinn Corbraigi in decmad a Senghu|a|lainn Cladhaird ua Conuill in t-aeinmad dec a Cremaid Ocus ceathra catha for Laighnib 7 for Osraidhi 7 ceilfidersin ag laechraid Lochlann da ria Ceallachan dan cosnam leo.

48. IS annsin ro chinnset a comairle um tinnscetal inn tsluagad sin 7 do hordaiged acu beith caeicdiges on lo sin ar Magh n-Adhar a mbiadh ar tir dibh 7 a mbiath ar muir dib do beith a mBel Atha Laigin. Cidh tra inla ro gheallsat a sluaig beith isna inadaib sin do badar amail ro geallsad. Ba he lin doriachtadar co Mhagh n-Adar IIII. catha commora. Ocus do riacht Cinnédig mac Lorcain 7 maithi Dail Cais ann Ocus do fhreasdail Ceinneidig iat in oigtisin.

: : Do eirghedar arnamarach 7 do raidh Cinnédig gu rachaid leo. A dubairt Donnchad nach leicfitis leo ider he. Or is d'iarraid bur righ 7 da chosnam thiagmait ne 7 ni beram tusa linn acht an oc imcoimhead an tire. Ma asedh ar Cinneidig onach raghsa ann cuirfet XX. c. libh-se 7 [152 b., c. 3] anfat fein lín Muman do chosnumh 7 cuirfet mu thri dearbraitre libsi 7 adubairt re hocláech maith da muinntir dul ar cenn a braithrech 7 atbert fris. Ticed Coscrach 7 Lonngarcan 7 Congalach cu .XX. c. mar-aen ru (sic). Ticed Assidha mac Assidha 7.v. c. do clannaib Cairtinn ar-aen ris. Ticed and Deghadh mac Domhnaill meic Duinn 7.v. c. Ele lais Ocus do fhedarsa ar Cinneidig inni is doigh leam do brisedh catha foruibh .i. gan righ romuibh do genad sibh comhairli 7 fa coisenad sibh cathlathair 7 onac fuil righthar libh Donnchad mac Caeim 7 da bhfaghthar Ceallachan. tabar a righi fein dó Ocus tuc Ceinnédig a lamh a laimh Donnchada re bhferuibh Muman 7 tucadar-san uili dha eis.

[1]) Written v.7.

50. Roghabh Cein*nédig* aga radh re Don*n*ch*ad* calma do denamh 7 aca in*n*isi dho a mhet do righuibh doghab righi Mhum*an* uime .i. Airtri 7 Cathal 7 Finguine 7 Cathal 7 Cui (sic) gen math*air* 7 Cathal 7 Aedh 7 Flan*n* 7 Cairbre 7 Cr*i*mhthan 7 Eoch*aid* 7 Aengh*us* mac Nathfraeich ic*ar* deghl*ad* na deighfhir co*n*udh en-ri déc ro ghabh righi Mum*an* o Aeng*us* gu Don*n*ch*ad* 7 da blia*dain*. l. fad a bhflaithi*us*a *con*adh da f*or*geall sin atb*er*t an sench*aide* an laid .i.

Gur meala do righi rain 7 cet*er*a.

51. Asa aithli sin do gluaisetar ro*m*pa 'na cathuibh coraighthi 7 do ghluais a cablach in la cedna O*cus* as e inadh a raibi a-s*lóg* i*n* oightisi*n* a-n-Ath na Righ O*cus* do cuad*ar* a*r*namhar*ach* cu-Sliabh Cai*n* 7 do ron*ad* botha 7 belscala leo an*n* 7 ger adhbul na huisc*eda* ní clos neac aga n-ecaine *ar* met na sain*n*ti do bhi orra do rochtain na Lochl*annach*.

52. RO leicset sirthe uathuibh gu Muaidh 7 ro tinoil*ed* crecha leo d'in*n*saig*id* a lo*n*gphuirt. Amhail robhat*ar* an*n* co*n*fhacadur buigi*n* cuca. x. c. ba hedh a-lín 7 is aml*aid* robhat*ar* 7 fer ar-e*n*tus rompa 7 ro fiafraig*edar* cuich e 7 cuich in buig*in*. D*r*eam do Mhuimhn*echaib ar*se 7 ni fhedad*ar* Muim*n*i*g* a-m-b*eith* dibh .i. Dealbhna 7 Gaili*n*ga 7 Luigne do cl*ainn* Tadg me*i*c Cein O*cus* atát t*ri* hoir-r*igh*a ag*mar*a ro*m*pa [153 a., c. 1] .i. Aedh m*ac* Dualas-caigh 7 Gaili*n*ga uime O*cus* Luighne u*m* Diarm*ait* m*ac* Fi*n*n*acht*a *Ocus* Dealbna um Don*n*chad m*ac* Maeldomn*aill* 7 ase a-llin. v. c. eid*edac* 7 v. c. gan eid*ed*. O*cus* gabs*at* lo*n*gport *ar*-ae*n* re Dail gCais 7 doessidar in oighthi an*n*-si*n* gu soi*n*mhech sidam*ail*.

53. Do eirghet*ar* gu moch arnamhar*ach* tar Es Dara 7 tar d*r*oichet minglan Matra 7 tar sens*r*oth*aib* Sligigh 7 lamh dhes re Beinn n-gaethfhuair n-Gulban. tar Duibh 7 tar D*r*obais 7 tar Magh n-uai*n*e n-abhullblaith n-Ene 7 gu hEs righda Ruaidh 7 roleicset sirthe tar Ath Sena*ig* soir 7 rotinoil*edar* c*r*echa c*r*i*ch*e Co*n*uill anoir leo g*us* an lo*n*gport *Ocus* do lean Muircert*ach* mac Airnel*aig* iat. i. ri Ce*n*coil *Con*aill 7 do bhi ag iar*aid* a c*r*each orro. Adob*air*t Don*n*chad n*ach* aislog*ad* iat gum*ad* saithech in-sl*uag* dibh 7 ni b*er*amne lin*n* a-beg d*ar* bhfuigheall áir ni ba crich gan c*r*o*g*h in c*r*i*ch* a ragam. Cidh tra do impo M*uirchertach*

[illegible] bruitnaid 7 do chuir techta go hArd Macha da innisi dona Lochlannchaib a m-beith sen cuca 7 da radh re cloinn Tuirgheis. Ceallachan do breith co Dun n-Dealgan O atcualatar clann Turgheis sin ro fhacuibhset an baili 7 in nonbur iarla do bhi malle re Ceallachan oca gabhail a-n-Ath Cliath 7 do ansat Lochlannaig in baile fein ann .i. Lulach 7 Amhlaibh 7 Lagmann 7 Turcaill 7 Gilla Ciarain mac Henruc (sic)[1]) in tsenrigh 7 Oitir dubh Ocus ba he a-llin VII. C 7 cath egair.

54. IMthus fer Mumain rancatar don taebh thes d'Ard Macha. IS ann sin adubairt Donchadh riu a trealamh catha do gabhail 7 innsaighit ceathra catha againn an dunad. tecat Dail gCais 7 Gailinga 7 Dealbhna 7 Luighne don taeibh aniar d'Ard Macha. Teacat i Conuill 7 hi Cairbre 7 ua meic Cailli 7 ua Liathain a tuaid isin mbaili. Teacat na Deisi don taeibh anes. Ticeabhsa 7 na hEoganachtsa .i. Eoganacht Chaisil 7 Eoganacht Aine 7 Eoganacht Glennamnach 7 Eogahacht Cliach 7 Eoganacht Durluis 7 Eoganacht Locha Lein 7 Eoganacht Raithlinn don taebh anoir [153 a., c. 2] anadh cath Muscraidhi 7 na n-Uaithne 7 Fher Muighi 7 ua Cuanac na g-comhnaidi uair ni gnath cath gan chostadh 7 ni fedamarni nach bhudh mhaidm (sic) oruinn no ar dreim dar muintir. 7 damad edh gu m-beith eolus acu in tsligi a ticfaitis. Do ronsat amhlaid 7do innsaigedar in baile mar do tecoisc Donnchadh doib.

55. Scela Dhanar a-n-dunaid do thinoilctar a n-eininad. 7 do agaill Lagmann na laeic 7 ised adubairt Ni fhuilmit lín freastail doibh siut onac d'aentaiah thecait 7 indsaightcr cath dibh againn 7 feram cath riu 7 mad maidm ar dreim dhibh as doigh gum ba[2]) hedh orrtha uili 7 ro cinnedh in comairlisin leo 7 ro choraighset cathbhuaili crithrech chomhartach 7 ro innsaighset in cath ba nesa dhoibh .i. cath na n-Deisi 7 ro feradh duirgleo duilig eturra. gur mudhaighid milid leo 7 gu fadhbhadh feinid leo 7 gur cirred cnis. *Acht* cena adrochradar maithi na Lochlannach 7 ro sraeincdh gu cruaidh in cathlathair ar laechraid Loclainn tre lar Arda Macha bud thuaid gu tarla cath o Cairbre doibh ac cromadh a mbratach 7 a mergedh a tuaidh 'na n-agaid gur himpádh siar na Lochlannaig na lanmaidm.

[1]) + *Henruc* is written above the line.

[2]) Written in two words in the MS.; the *-m* of the eclipsis is connected with *gu* and not with *ba*.

gu tarla cath Dail gCais 7 Gailinga 7 Dealbna 7 Luighne aniar na n-urcomuir gur himpoiged soir iat gu grod gaibhthech gerghonach gu tarla cath cloinne hEogain da n-innsaigid gur hosluiced dorus dedla deighmenm[n]ach ar in n-dluthbhuailid samhail leasa lanmhoir 7 docoraighedh cimhsa comhdlutta cengailti na timcheall cu hurmaisnech ag na hEoganchaib. gu bhfuaradar an buinne borbLoclannach sin isin sligid 7 isin sluaghbhuailid sin 7 ro duined gu dighair deghdhaingen in dorus da n-eis 7 ro gabhudh comach ar na curadhaibh conach fuaradar raen na roishligi ona righuibh acht toitim 'na torainn truim trochamail ar an lathair-sin. Ocus ised ruc as in tuatha thérna dibh uirthosach na hEoganacht. [153 b., c. 1] O'tconnaic Donnchadh na catha mesc ar mhesc. do fuacair doibh uili imdhedhuil 7 oirisium 7 doronsat amlaid 7 tecait isin mbaili 7 do bi in baile ara comus in agaid sin. Ocus ni fhuaradar scela Ceallachain.

56. Do eirghedar isin maduin arnamharach gusin cathlathuir 7 ro thinoilset cuirp a muinntiri cu haeininad 7 cind na Lochlannach 7 do cuirset ar birchuailli bodhbha na cinn. Do fiaraig Donnchadh mac Caeimh in raibhi nech do Ghaeighilib isin mbaili o bhfuighbedh scela Ceallachain. Do fhregair fer 'sa mbaili do 7 adubhairt ba do clannaib Gaeighel a bhunadus. do fhiaraig Donnchadh cuich e.

57. IS me ba primfhaidh a-n-Ard Macha. suil tancatar na Lochlannaig. 7 is me anois is aistreoir ann. Scela righ Muman agad? ar Donnchad. atait ar se. in oighthi do babair-si oc Eas Ruaid. tancatar techta o righ Ceineoil Conuill don bailisi d'innisin bur scelsi 7 do gluaisedh Ceallachan co Dun n-Dealgan 7 an dechnebar iarla do bhi ica ghabhail maille ris cu hairm a bhfuilit a longa. gluaister aginne nan-degaid ar Donnchadh air ni fhuicfimne lis Loclannach a n-Eirinn cusnach roichfium ac comull ar mbreithre.

58. Gluaisit rompa 'na cathaib cóirigti i Sliabh Fuait 7 a bhfigh Conuill 7 a magh Murthemhne 7 docum Duine Dealgan co direch. Ocus do chuadar na Lochlannaig 'na longaibh uatha 7 do cuadarsan gu taebh na tragha. IS i long ba nesa doibh long Shitriuc meic Tuirghe[i]s 7 is innti do bhi Ceallachan 7 dofhiaraig Donnchad dibh in bhfuighedh Ceallachan re fhuascalad. Tuc Sitriuc a briathar

[illegible] fuighthe id*er acht* mu*n*a tuedaissiu*m* dosa*n* *ar* m*ar*b*ad* [illegible] catha déc tuc Ceall*achan*. 7 ar m*ar*b*ad* a cath .Ird*a* Macha Ot chuala Don*n*ch*ad* sin do ghabh ica tathaeir adub*air*t nach a geath na a geo*m*luin*n* do ghabhat*ar* Ceall*achan* *acht* *ar* luighi 7 *ar* loi*m*eithech 7 adub*air*t n*ach* tibr*ed* taebh re luigi Lochlan*n*aig da n-eis. Tabraid onoir do Ceall*achain* a bhfiadhnaisi na Muimhn*ech* ar Sitr*iuc* .i. cengailt*er* do*n* tseolchran*n* he [153 b., c. 2] or ni bhia gan phian*ad* na nanoir 7 doron*ad* aml*aid*. Cáinfit bantrachta M*uman* sin ar Don*n*ch*adh* 7 cáin*fidh* do bensa fein a Shitr*iuc* 7 ni fhuil acuibh ac denamh in dochuirsin do fer *acht* fuigheall a claid*im* no a chatha. *Ocus* do tocbhadh Don*n* Cuan mac Cein*nétig* m*ar* an cedna a luin*g* mheic righ Fu*ar*lochla*nn* 7 adub*air*t Don*n*ch*adh* cum*ad* fhe*ar*r leis cum*ad* co*m*thro*m* comluin*n* doibh 7 atb*er*t in laid.

A Sitr*iuc* theithi*us* *ar* tuin*n* 7rl.[1])

[1]) The poem is given in full in H. 1. 8, col. 80 f. as follows:

A Shithriocc theithios tar tuin*n*
fan re hagalla*mh* again*n*.
ó nach féadamaoid a fhi*r* dhuibh.
do leanmhuin isi*n* lei*r*mhui*r*.

Do gheallais do bhréithi*r* theas.
a Lochlon*n*aicc na lan*n* n-glas
do Cheall*ach*án an fhuilt fhin*n*.
nách millfeá é a n-Éirinn.

Tugais briath*ar* bréige a fhir.
dá millte*ar* leat an mili*dh*
ní thíubhra duine ad dheaighi*dh*.
taobh ré lúighe Lochlon*n*aicc.

59. IS an*n* sin asb*er*t Ceall*achan*. Narube dighailt dobera sibh oru*m*sa ba im*m*chain*edh* do denamh. u*air* dob*er*imsi do*m* b*reith*ir gurub doilghi leamsa Caiseal gan com*ar*ba do clan*n*uibh Eog*ain* an*n* i*n*a bheith damh fei*n* isi*n* phei*n* si 7 mu ben*nacht ar* Dail gCais luach na tosca tancat*ar*. IArsi*n* tocb*us* Ceall*achan* a chean*n* 7 atb*er*t. A Don*n*ch*aidh ar* ghluais cabhluch libh? Do gl*uais* ar Don*n*ch*adh*. Atciusa iat ar Ceall*achan* 7 adub*airt* in laid.

Caoinfid banntra*cht*[a] Mumhan.
da bhfagha Ceall*ach*án púdh*ar*
ní bá ciuin *a* n-gá[i]r[e] ghuil.
ó Uighne go Dún Eoc*ar*mhaighe

Dá ccluine Gormfhlaith glac [n]geal.
inghion Bhuadh[a]chain na bhfl*edh*
ní bá ciuin a g*áir* mhail.
deaghbhean Domhnuill í Fhaoláin

Dá n-in*n*ist*er* dot mhnaoi féin.
bas Cheall*ach*áin n*a* n-ar*m* n-gér
caoinfidh é Mór n*a* rosg mall.
inghion Rígh in*n*si Fion*n*gall.

Maith do thuill Ceallachán cas.
uaibsi gan a léigion as
do lean go cosaibh a long.
go minic laochradh Lochlan*n*

Ní bhfuil agaibh gan óig*ed*h.
laoch a*cht* fúighioll a chloidhim
do ch*uaidh* tré meat*acht* gan bhrígh.
an uaimh nó a n-gealtacht ón árdrigh

Gach tu*ar*asdal dár thógh fear.
tug rígh Caisil na ccaomhfle*adh*
as d'ion*n*mh*as* Loch*lann*ach t[h]ug.
do shluagh Mumhan a Shithri[u]cc. A.

A Domnchaid domnas in crann.
na tat[h]aeir laechraid Lochlann.
nir millsdar sinn cose.
ac comull a bhfirinne.

An brathar tuc Sitriuc thes.
as i fos atá 'gar les
as trithi berar mé sair.
dom millsd oc Lochlannchaib

As mo dhimshnim ar m'anmain.
ina beith a pein adhbhuil.
gan Caisil do cosnum dhuibh.
a shaerclanna shil Eogain.

Oramsa do hairmhedh riamh.
a n-dernsabair thoir is tiar.
daibh fein áirmeochthar anois.
denaid calmacht am ecmois

Ri dingmala cum Caisil.
leitheit in Muimnigh maisig.
foirfidh ibh as cach n-eicin.
righthar libh-si Ceinneidig.

Mu bennachtsa fir in fath.
ar Dail gCaiss cinnes ar chach.
crodha thancadar ille
do chomhull a mbrait[h]irse.

Tancabar sluaiged bagha.
a clann Eogain in agha
tre coiced Medhbha budh thuaidh.
romhor in menma mhorshluaigh.

O thancabar tar Es Ruaid.
tancatar techta bhutuaidh
o Muirchertaich gu méd n-gluinn
o aird[r]igh ceneoil Conuill.

Gia ro facsam *A*rd M*acha*
ro facsam ann lin catha
[154 a., c. 1] re Ghaighealuibh da n-dith an*n*.
do treinfheraibh laechLochl*ann*.

A buidhi re Dia a claisdi*n*.
A shlói*g* Muma*n* an ghaisci*d*.
gur de*argad* gne *gach*a ga
ane a gcath *Ar*da M*acha*.

Baidh leam aniugh b*ur* fa*i*csi*n*.
a shlói*g* Mumhan in gaisci*d*.
b*ur* n-aighthi n-uidhi gan tsal
ar faighthi Dhuini Dealg*an*.

Dochiu is ni fhaicet b*ur* tr*e*oi*n*.
os me fhuil isi*n* cra*nn* sheoil
cablach n*ach* teithfe don lin*n*
is in*a*d feite*m* a bhfuilim.

Caeimhrighr*ad* i*ar*thair Mhuma*n*.
inmhain cablach n*ar* tubhad
m*a*d do gluaiseat*ar* o a toigh.
as iat adchiusa a Donnch*aidh*. A Don*n*-
ch*aidh* d*omnus* in cra*nn*

61. IS and si*n* do thocbhat*ar* fir Muma*n* a cin*n* 7 a caemroisc 7 adcon*n*cad*ar* an cuan aga choimhlín*ad* do longuibh 7 do luathbh*ar*cuibh 7 as iat do bhi ann cabl*ach* f*er* M*uman*. O*cus* do fi*araig* Sitr*i*uc cuith (sic) iat 7 do in*n*is Don*n*-*chadh* a n-anmun*n*a. Ro budh fe*arr* lin*n* *ar* Sitr*i*uc cu bhfaghmais a fhis cia dibh sud do ghabh do laimh, ar gcosc isi*n* chaithirgailsi aniugh 7 uaisli na bhfer fuileat an*n*. Adubairt Dui*n*each*ad* mac Fiangh*u*sa da bhfaghadh art*hra*ch fr*i*a himluchtadh 7 dilsi fr*i*a dul 7 fria techt cu raghadh d'fis na scelsi*n* o Sitr*i*uc 7 fu*air* amail ro chuin*nig*.

62. Teit Duinech*ad* co h*air*m i raibi in cobl*ach* 7 do fhi*araig* scela dhibh 7 do indis scela fher Mumhan a n-*Ar*d M*acha* doibh. 7 do in*n*is Ceall*achan* do b*eith* a lui*n*g Shitr*i*uc isin tseolchran*n* cengailti O*cus* ader*aid* sibsi ar

Duineachad in tan do beidis bhur sluaig uili a n-aeininad cumad lu tabartha catha duinni sibh 7 do budh nar dhaibh anois bhur trath 7 bur tigerna do leiced don muir cusna tonnuib |o dho leanabair|[1])e

63. IS briathar duinne ar iatsom da mbeidis Muimnigh 7 Lochlannaig ar aenchaei nach leicfimisni Ceallachan leo gan cath do thabhairt doibh. Maseadh ar Duinechad in isidh damsa cuich na comluin|n|ghabhthai do laim don laechraidh Lochlannaig |154 a., c. 2]. Ocus asiat so iatsein. Loclannach na lann 7 in Loclannach ladhach 7 Sen-Amlaibh. tri coimhedaigi Corcaighi. Leagar duinne iat ar tri righ Corcaduibne[2]) .i. Flann 7 Cobhthach 7 Eidirsceol or is rinn doronsad adhbhar ar techt co hInis Clere da rucsat ar mna 7 ar maccaeimh a mbroid 7 ni tharramar iat re dhigail forru 7 gabhmaitne do laim iatsomh aniugh. Cia aguibh ar Duinechad ghabhus do laimh Lenn Turman na huidhi. leagar damhsa he ar Dubhdabhoirenn ri iarthair o nEchach doigh romharbh se mac maith umum .i. Aedh mac Duibhdabhoireann. Cia uaibh ar Duinechad gabus do laim tri meic Tuirgheis .i. Sitriuc 7 Tor 7 Magnus Ocus is 'na luing ata Ceallachan. leagar dhuinne iat ar Segda 7 ar Failbhe 7 ar Conghal uair dochuadar fo Sceilic Mhichil 7 do millset in tir 7 gabhmaitne do laim iatsom do dingmail aniugh.

64. Adbar ele ar Failbi tucsam breithir nach biath ar muir nó ar tir inad a bhfaicimis iat nach roichfimis da indsaigid. Cia uaibh ar Duinechad gabhus do laimh mac righ Finnlochlann. leagar damsa he ar Conchubar ri Ciarraidi Luachra or do loisc se Ard Fothaigh mBrenaind 7 dighelatsa fair aniug he. Cia ghabus do laimh Lenn Trumun (sic) na Pers ar Duinechad. leagar dhuinne he ar Diarmaid 7 ar Baiscinn da righ Corco Baiscne áir ro creachsad Inis Cathaig 7 ni rucsamne orro cusaniugh. Cia ghabhus do laim ar Duinecad ri Fuarloclann? IS 'na luing ata Donn Cuan 7 he ceangailti. Leagar duinne he ar da righ Corcamruadh air dochuadar for Arainn 7 do creachad leo hi 7 dighelmaitne orra aniugh.

[1]) The words between brackets are omitted in the line and written in the margin.

[2]) In the margin of O'Curry's copy is added (probably in O'Donovan's hand): Corcalaighde.

65. Cinn*as* aitheo*n*ta longa a chele *ar* Duin*echad* air na sceith 7 na b*r*atacha fuileat acuibse ni hiat rob' aithn*id* doibhsiu*m*. Ur*us*a sin *ar* Failbhe fi*n*d or is eola*igh* iat 'san orduchadh ar bhferain*n* agar tighibh .i. Corcolaigdi as faidi bhudh dhes 7 ua Echach is neasu dhi. [154 b., col. 1] Corcoduibhne as nesa disei*n*. Ciarr*aig*i as nesa disei*n*. Corcobaisci*n*d as nesa do Ciarr*aig*i. Corcam*ruaid* as nesa do Corcab*aiscind* 7 coireochmaitne ar cabl*ach* doreir ar bhf*er*ui*nn* 7 denuitsium *ar* fresdal. Teit Duin*echad* roime c*us*in loi*n*gi*us* Lochl*annach* 7 do in*n*is na haithesca sin do cl*ainn* Turgeis.

IS des t*ar*la sin *ar* Sitr*i*uc or as iat sin na comhl*ainn* ro toghsa*m*. Tainic Dui*n*each[ad] ar tir 7 do in*n*is scela na comlun*n* si*n* do Mhui*nn*e*chaib Ocus* atbert i*n* sen*chaid* i*n* la*id*.

66. I*n*dis a Dui*n*each*aid* dhuin*d* 7 cet*e*ra.
[duin*n*e cia hiad na comhluin*n*
do ghabh an dá oirrígha déag.
ó i*ar*th*ar* Múmhan n*a* mórséadh

Sloin*n* g*a*ch Lochl*ann*ach data.
do thóg g*a*ch aoinf*er* aco
is g*a*ch f*er* dar gabhadh leó.
do Lochlon*n*aibh 'san luathghleó

Do ghabh Eid*er*sgeól anall.
uaibhsi Lochluin*n* n*a* lann
do gheall Cobhthach is Flan*n* Fáil.
an dias eile dionghabhail

Fáilbhe go Sithrioch n*a* sluagh.
Séagh[d]a go Maghn*us* Mongruadh
Conall go Tor tar tuin*n*.
Ci*ar*rúidhe go Fionnlochlain*n*

Concubh*ar* go hÍolbhrec *ár*d.
rígh Ci*arraighe* cloidhiomhghairg
is Corcobhaisgin ón tuin*n*.
go Persiaibh dá tré*a*n-Tor(m)ui*nn*

Fu*ar*lochlannaicc calma an chuain.
do ghabsad da Chorca*m*rua[i]dh

as iad sin m*ar* is léi*r* lin*n*.
cómhlion *na* ccómhrag do cin*n*. In*n*is.|[1]

Cid tra o do riachtad*ar* na hoirrigha *ar*mdergasi*n* iarthair Ei*r*e*nn* .i. na saerchla*nn*a sochma sa*r*thin*n*laict*hech*a o thuin*n* coirpgil Clidhna anes gu cuan T*r*agha bithaille Baili a lea*th*mui*n* a t*r*eoi*n* 7 a tig*er*na 7 do chosnamh a cur*a*drigh asin eicin a raibhi an righmhil*id*. o'tconn*ca*d*ar ar* na cengal 7 *ar* na chuibhr*ech* re seolchran*n* na luin*g*i Lochla*nn*aig i he. do aithrighset cuin*n* 7 cialla 7 cetfadha dona curada*ib* 7 ro buaidhrit dealbha 7 datha doibh 7 ro g*r*eann*a*ighset a n-gnuisi 7 ro bhanad*ar* a mbeoil. *Ocus* do coraig*e*d co calma ag na cur*a*daibh do chosnu*m* Ceall*ach*a*in* luathlaem luthghasda long 7 cathair chumhd*aig*i clog*a*d 7 buaili bu*nn*ata boghadh 7 fal ferrdha fraechnei*mn*ech fin*n*sleagh.

68. IS an*n* sin ro eirg*etar* na firlaecdha l*eth*anarmacha Locla*nn*aig sin 7 na Goill gnusghorma g*r*ancda g*r*ainemhla 7 na Dana*ir* dhaera dhochenelcha gan dilsi gan duthc*hus* re hinnis bhfhiraluin*n* bhFhodla 7 gan bunadh*us* gan brath*air*si re Banba *Ocus* ro coraig*e*d acu sein du*n* digha*in*n doin*n*sciathach 7 sluaghdhoire sesm*ach* slegh nei*mh*nech nertchalma. Acht ata ni cena o dho riachtad*ar* na mil*id* cu tin*n*isn*ech* talchair ro ci*n*ged*ar* gu calma a cnairre isin caithi*rgail gur*ub ris ba sam*al*ta na saerchla*nn*a re sireisdeacht .i. re coicedul cal*ad* cloichimdha oca imtecht d'feghui*n* 7 d'almuibh 7 d'i*n*nilibh [154 b., col. 2] do g*r*eaghuibh 7 do g*r*aifnibh 7 do ghlanmharcshl*uag* na f*r*asa fuilidi faebr*a*cha oca bhferthuin 7 coicidul a colg 7 a c*r*aisech ag luaiththesc*ad* luir*e*ch 7 ar scoltadh sciath 7

1 The poem is found in full in $\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$, p. 82 f., where it begins: In*n*is a Dhuinecáin duin*n*. Another copy is found in Egerton 106. The text above between brackets is printed from the copy in the Irish Academy, with a few exceptions, where I have used Egerton 106. These exceptions are: l. 2 na ($\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$ ·n-). l. 5: oirrigha ($\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$ óighrigh), l. 12: dionghabhail ($\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$ dongl-bhail). l. 16 go Fionnlochlainn ($\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$ cloidheamh-gharg); l. 17 and 18 are only found in Egerton; l. 20 Egerton has: da ttèn.

ag coi*m*mb*r*isedh (sic) clocat 7 cathbarr*e* 7 caemhcholun*n* a chele um Ceall*achan*.

69. IS an*n* sin rosia*ch*tad*ar* ar a n-uill*en* n-deisc*er*taig dona deghshluag*aib*. tri righ loin*n*gnim*ach*a ua Luig*dech*. i. Flan*n* 7 Cobht*ach* 7 Eid*er*scel 7 do rala a cean*n* a cele iat 7 t*ri* coimhed*aig*i Corc*aig*i .i. Locl*annach* na lan*n* 7 in Locl*annach* ladhach 7 Sen-Amhlaibh sin*n*s*er* na sochraide 7 do comraiced*ar* isin caithirghuil. Acht chena nir th*ar*bha don laechr*aid* Locl*annaig* sc*a*irbhidheacht a sciat[h] na s*ar*dhai*n*gne a sleagh na sianuir*ch*a*ir* a soighet na co*m*tu*ar*c*ain* a claid*em* ar na cur*a*duibh or roli*n*gset na hoirrigha sin is na longuibh Lochl*anna* (sic) gur sun*n*raig*ed* fa seolc*hr*ann*aib* na sithlong iat. g*ur*ub a c*er*tl*ar* g*ach*a cnairri do chomhraicsit *con*dr*o*chrat*ar* comhthoit*im* in seis*er* sin *con*a sochraidibh amhail asbeart an fili.

70. IS t*ru*agh leam toiti*m* na t*ri*ath.
cl*ainn*i Luig*dech* na lai*nn*sciath.
a deisc*er*t Mum*an* anes.
le sl*uag* Loc*hlainn* na luaithcles.

IS t*ru*agh leam Eid*er*scel *ar*d.
in cur calma cl*aidim*d*erg*.
acht ge do cer leis gu t*r*en.
Locl*annach* na lan*n* lai*n*gher.

Truagh leam Flan*n* ua Luigd*ech* Luai*n*.
do beith i T*r*aigh Baili buai*n*
ge dho ben gan feall 'san chath
cen*n* do*n* Lo*chlannach* ladhach.

Truagh toiti*m* mei*c* m*ei*c Niadh moir.
do cl*ann*uibh Itha in *ar*dslo*ig*.
saeth lium Cobht*ach* *co* *n*dreic[h] n-d*ei*rg.
ua Luig*dech* laech gan laincheilg.

Déc longa. *fich*et cu fir.
do c*hlainn* Luig*dech* co lai*n*br*i*gh.
ni riacht a tech dib is fis.
foiren*n* lui*n*gi da laeichlis.

Is truagh.

71. IS ann sin doriact oirri O n-Echach .i. Dubhdhaboirean*n* 7 Lon-Tarmuc na huidhi *cona* lughbhar*c*uibh do com-ruc 7 do com*t*uarca*in* a chele amail da dreagan ar dhesghonuibh *no* amail da seabac ar shaintgni*m*aibh. *Ocus* do lingedar sluagh clainni gegdha glan Chais a longuibh na Lochlannach gur thoitset ar topthaibh 7 ar trenramhaibh na tarblong.

72. IS an*n* si*n* do riachtsad [155 a., c. 1] in triar croda caithmilid .i. Segda 7 Failbhi 7 *Con*gal cu tarbhchobhlach clainni Tuirgeis. gu Sitriuc 7 gu Tor 7 gu Magnus 7 rodibraiced cu hathlu*m* ona Eirenchaibh teda caela cnaibrighne tar leabarcorraibh na long Loclannach ar daigh nach scuchdais o cheli 7 rodibraiced ona Loclannchaib slabrada garba glaisiarain*n* tar saeirchoraibh a sithlongsom 7 ro coraigheadh ider na curadaib cliatha crannblaithi ceinngera do shleaguibh sithrighne sairneimnecha 7 do threicetar a sdiurasmain*n* sdiuraighechta 7 do eirgedar a bhfoirne le ramhadhuibh um rigborduibh a ruadhlong gur gabsat breisim barbardha ar a cheli gur bha muir mer mheallghaili tairm 7 treineirghi na tarbcuithechsin.

73. IS an*n* sin do greised 7 do gnaithimredh long læch-Fhailbhi co sluaghluing Sitriuc 7 do ling Failbhi leim firard fiadhamail do lethanclar a luingi cu seolcran*n* Sitriuc 7 nochtais in rigmilid in da lain*n* gasda gerfhaebracha 7 gabais claidem dibh 'na laim dighain*n* deis ag freasdal laechmhilcd na luingi 7 claidem 'na laimh curata cli ag leadrad na tet 7 na sas bai um Ceallachan.

74. *Ocus* do coraighedh cro cleasarmach cruadhfhaebrach d'uaislibh clainni Cuirc imon cran*n* oiret bui in laech ag leadrad na leabarthed gur leicesdar in caithmilid a certlar na cnairri ider na curadaib *Ocus* toirberis Failbhe in dara lann a laim Cheallachain isin cruaidhirghail 7 gabais Ceallachan cnamhcomach arna curadaib re slisborduibh na saerluingi. gur ling a luing laech-Fhailbhi *Ocus* do doirtedh gu dighair dasachtach ar dhegh-Fhailbhe isin dubhluing[1] amail is gnath gu loigen*n* ilar ar uathaid.

75. O romudhaighedh in milid 7 o rofadhbudh in firlaec ider na freachghallaibh rodicennsad an deighfhear 7 rothocbhatar a cenn ar cuirr na cnairre. O'tconncadar dian-

[1] O'Curry in his copy has duibluing.

gasrada duibnich an dicennad sin 7 macrada mera Muimnich Ro cruadaighedh in comrac 7 ro dluthaiged an deabhuid [155 a, c. 2] ag na deghsluaguibh. Adraig Fiangal gu ferrdha ger bho tim tlaith teichthech gach deaghlaech ar toitim a fhlatha 7 roghabh oc accaine a thigerna 7 ro rad a breithir nach roisedh Sitriuc slan cu sloguibh Lochlainn uair ba comhalta do chaeimh-Fhailbhe in curaid 7 do thuic nach gebhdais a airm in t-airsidh eidigthi 7 ba truagh lais a tigerna isin cairbh gan coimhdigailt 7 atbert in laid.

Corp i Conaire i[n] truagh libh 7 rl.[1])

76. Is ann sin rolingestar Fiangal leim sanntach seabhcaidhi cu sluaglung Sitriuc 7 satius a ghealglaca a mbrollach luirigh in Lochlannaig 7 sreangthairrngius in Finnlochlannach fon bhfairgi gu riachtsat araen grian 7 gainemh in ghnathmhara. gurubi sin tarraid iat.

[1]) The poem is found complete in $\frac{23}{\text{H. 1 a.}}$, p. 85.

Corp hí Chonaire an truagh libh.
do bheith 'san loing Lochlonnaicc
[i]s a cheann ara cuirr chais.
ua Mogha lámha laochmhais.

Nochar dhlígh easa[n] seach cách.
gan a leanmhuin fíor an fáth
da bhféaduinn féin ina loing.
Fáilbhe fer an fhuilt órthruim

Súgach saoileach ar shluaghaibh.
an mílidh go mórbhuadhaibh
bá tíodhlaigtheach tighe n-óil.
ua Aongusa go n-árdmhoir

Failbhe fionn ón Failbhe fionn.
do rad a chorp tar mo chionn
doilg leam a fhágbháil tar méis.
a loing Shithricc Meic Turgéis

Ni rac am beathaidh bo dheas.
a ccric Múmhan na mórleas
acht mun fhágabar go holc.
an fear do cior a chaomhchorp. Corp.

IS ann sin do riactsat an da oirrigh adhmara don cloinn croidha cedna .i. Seghda 7 saer-Congal gu da macuibh trena Turgeis i. Tor 7 Maghnus Ocus nir aighti carut um cuirm agna curaduibh 7 nir sherc ced-ingine da cele. gur lingset na laeich gu leomanda asna cnairribh comdluta ina mbuinnedhuibh diana doifresdail tar leabarbhorduibh na long Lochlannach 7 rofhacbhatur in laechrad a longa fein faen folumh 7 ba bronnlan longa na Lochlannach 7 ba leathtrom na leathbuird or ba himarcraigh anbhail dona longuibh comdhortad cloinne Cuirc ina crislaigibh 7 siat lan do Loclannchaib. rompa. conar fuirigset na longa re comrac dona curadaibh gan aslucud isin salmhuir gur baidhed gach bare guna buidhnibh dhibh. amail asbert in fili na focuil si.

Mor menma na mil*ed* mua[i]d 7 rl.[1])

[1]) Cf. [illegible] p. 86 as follows:

Mór meanma na míledh mbuaidh.
Failbe Seag[d]a is Conall cruaid
dias díobh do shiól Chonaire an *arm* ghlais.
fir bo calma re ciorrbadh cneas.

Fágbhaid a longa féin fólam.
na milidh sin ní dáil doilg
gur lingséd ina longaibh dé.
ar cloinn Turgéis toghúidhe

Cómhrag ar an muir mearrdha.
do rín an triar tréanchalma
gur lingsed gér chruaidh an cleas.
ar lucht na lúireach lánglas

Ba fórlann dá gach carb chruaidh
lucht dá long gér lán anbhua[i]n
is bá leatrom búird na mbárc.
do Lochlonnaibh Chuirc na ccaomhthracht

Súghaidh chuice an mhuir monuar.
gach long gach curach colg cruaidh
níor threigsed a ccómhlann de.
Clann Turgeis is treanChairbre

78. IS and sin do riachtsad colglonga catharmacha Ciarraide 7 foirne fraecda fergmora Finnloclann 7 ro dibraigedh eturra saitheda soigeat 7 groidgreasa garbhcloch 7 frasa firgera faghadh 7 sleagh seolta sithremar 7 do ronsat trodach thulgarbh 7 gleo ainmin escardach. IS ann sin do riacht Connculbar ri curata Ciarraigi[1]) [155, b., col. a.] 7 Ilbhrech imgonach mac righ Finnlochlann 7 dochathuighset gu dur 7 gu dichra 7 rocuimnighset Ciarraige crecha a criche don curaid 7 ro imerseat imarcraigh a sainnti ara sleaghuibh 7 treisi a tachuir ara tuaghuibh 7 cruaidhi a comluinn ara cloidhmhibh 7 sceanamdeacht a scainder ara scenuibh uair ba dluith na deghlonga da cheli air doroichdis a n-airm ochta 7 urbhruinne aroile. gur comhtuitset alliu 7 anall ina longuibh. *Acht chena*[2]) rotharraing Concubar Ilbreach alos a chinn chuigi 7 ros dichenn in deighlaech 7 commhaidis an cenn 7 toitis fein ar muin in mileđ cu bhfuair bas amlaid. Conudh da forgell sin do can in fili in laid.

Ag sin óighedh mo laoch luath.
ar an muir ní sgéal guach
Séag[d]a is Conall na slogh.
Tor is Maghnus mermór.

Mór.

[1]) At the bottom of the page, in a more recent hand (of the 17th century?), the following poem is found:

Tiumnuim mo bú do bochtduibh. m'olc do macaibh mallachtduibh
mo clí don talmuin o dtig. m'anmuin donti o dtainicc.
Misi Ricard Baired do sgribh so 7 tuccadh gach nduine bennachtuin ar m'anmuinn. (»I Richard Barry wrote this and let every person give a benediction upon my soul.«)

At the bottom of p. 154 b. in the same hand there is a translation of this poem into Latin:

Do bona pauperibus, sathan peccata resumat,
Terram terra tegat; spiritus alta petit.

In O'Curry's copy in the Royal Irish Academy the late Professor J. O'Donovan has added in the margin: »Sic in orig. manu recentiori J. O'D.

[2]) The MS. has the latin abbreviations: Sed enim.

Conchúbhar bá calma in cing[1]

The poem is found in full in $\frac{23}{H.\ 1.\ 15.}$, p. 80, as follows:

Conchúbhar bá calma an cing.
Righ Chiarruidhe an fhuilt áluinn
a thuitim as truag an cleas.
le lucht na luireach lánghlas

Nior fhágsad a mhuinter mhear.
ua Fhergusa an fer finngheal
gur thuitsed tuaidh ar an muir.
le sluaigh Fionnlochlann fosuidh

Conchubhar is Ilbhreac án.
Mac righ Lochlainn fa laoch lán
troidsed na curaidh chródha.
ina longaibh lanmhóra

Bá farsiong fiórchreachta fear.
bá ciorrtha caomhcheinn churad
ba tollta [a] taoibh go tric.
ba hanbhfann gach laoch lánghlic

Fágbhuidh an fearsin go faon.
Mac Rígh Fionnlochlann foltchaomh
is beanaidh de a cheann gan chol.
Mac mic Beathadh Conchubhair.

Conchubhar.

IS and sin do riachtsad clanna Cairbre re n-abar Baiscnigh 7 loingius na Pers ar amus aroili 7 rochuimhnighset a nuafhalta 7 a n-escairdeas 7 ro suidhigedh gu sunnradac sarugad Senan agna saershluaghuibh 7 creachad innsi Cathaig ar an cruadhloingius Ocus ro deighimredh ag Diarmaid 7 ag Baisceann a mbarc 7 ro dibraiged eturra a soighdi 7 a sleagha do chuadar ar a ramadaibh reamra ruadhfuinnsin 7 rogabsad cruadhcomairt ar a chele.

80. Cidh tra do riacht an dias dhighair dhoifreasdailsin .i. Diarmaid 7 Baiscinn ana mborbruat[h]ar a luing in Lochlannaig. gur mharbhsat in milid ar larmedhon a luingi .i. Lenn-Turmun na Pers *Ocus* adrochuir Diarmaid isin dubluing 7 rosdicheann Baiscenn in borb-Loclannach amail isbert in fili.

Do thuitset isin cath cruaid.
clanda Cairbri claidhmruaidh.
is sluagh na Pers gerb easbach
acht mad Baiscenn buaineascrach.

81. IS ann sin do riactsat clanna fortuilbeoda Ferghusa 7 clanna cianairgnecha Cuirc gu Donn catharnaig Cuan. ótconncatar an curaid 'na chimidh cuibhrighti cengailti adubratar long luathtrom Lochlainn do tabairt don dara leith don luing Lochlannaig 7 long clardhonn Conchubair don leith ele don ardluing [155 b., c. 2] 7 do cinnedh in comhairli sin ag na curadaib 7 ro lingset tar leabharborduibh luingi in Lochlannaig gur scailset na scairbcengail. gur tarnset na teda gur legadh in laechmilid ar lar na luingi .i. Donn Cuan mac Ceinneidig. *Ocus* in cein do badar na hoirrigh ag trascairt in treinfhir asan tseolchrann rosdithaighset Lochlannaig na luingi a muinntir.

82. Ro fergaighet na feinnid gu firgharg uime sin 7 ro innsaighset gu garb na grangLochlannaig 7 rogabsad garbgresa gaibhtacha arna gruamLochlannaig. gur scoilset a sceith. gur leadairset a luirecha. gur coimrebsad a cotuin. gu ndrocair mac righ FuarLoclainn [1]) gu bhforbha a mhuinnteri *Ocus* in cein batarsom oc marbad in mhorLochlannach. dobatar Lochlannaig na luingi oca leadradsum ar dromannaib na n-deghlaech. Iarsin ro himpoiged acusan cu hathlum urmaisnech ar na hanradaibh 7 roghabsad urlaidi throm thindisnec arna treinfheraibh cunar hanad risna curadaib isin cairbh gur lingset laeich na luingi tara leabharbhordaibh isin linnmhuir da luathbadad *Ocus* o nach fuaradar Lochlannaig re lanmarbad isin luing rothocbhadar cenn meic righ Fuarlochlainn [1]) ar cuir[r] na cairbbi da commaidium *Ocus* tainic Conchubar a cuirr thosaigh na

[1]) Written: fuar. lo.

luing[s] 7 Lochluinn (sic) dhighuinn derid 7 roscarsat cuirp ro hannunnaigh doibh *Ocus* roghabh Donn Cuan oca cainnd 7 atbert

Croda coscuir na laech lonn. 7 rl. [1])

Oidh tra *acht* ba traigh mhara ac-comrac dona cabhlaighibh 7 as iat buinnedha lethna in lain tuc longa na Muimhnech cu tir *Ocus* o do riachtsat na longa co tir do chuadar na Muimhnig inntibh do chabair ar mair da muinntir. O atconncadar ar mair dona Lochlannchaib sin do chuadar a tri longaib dec 7 do facbhadar in cuan a chedair 7 ni rucsad ri na roflaith leo.

IS ann sin doriacht Ceallachan a luing Failbhe finn 7 Failbhe marbh innti ana cosair cro 7 do bhi Ceallachan oca chaine gu mor 7 adubhairt as esbuidh dhuin an fersa do thuitim 7 ni bhfuighter da eiss [156 a., c. 1] laoch do-bera a tigerna as amail tuc uair ba calma coigedal a claidim isin cairbhsi agum chosnumhsa *Ocus* atbert og ecaine Failbhe

85. Easbuigh Muimnech Failbhe finn
dorad a choluinn dom cinn
do ling da tabairt tar eiss
a luing Sitriuc meic Turgheis.

Do bhi claidem 'na laim dheis.
lann 'na laim athluim aimhdheis.
gur dhithcur iat fa thonnuibh
dar dithaig na Lochlonnaig.

Do geired leis mu chengail.
gin gur deoin leisna feraibh.
in lann do bhi 'na laimh cli.
dorad am laim si in laichri.

Do dhithaigh misi don colg.
a raibhi edram is bord.
do chomhruic Failbhi tar mh'eis.
gur fhacbhus long meic Turgeis.

[1]) The MS. has: 7 cetera. I have not been able to find more of this poem.

Nir marb*ad* Fail*bhe* a aenar.
dursan a bheith a mbaedhal.
no gur d*erg* da bhfuil i*n* lo*ng*.
a shluaghsan is sluagh Lochl*ann*

Do ling uain*n* Fianghal f*er*dha.
do dig*ail* a thig*er*na.
r*u*c leis Sit*r*iuc asa luing
gur baid*edh* mac meic Laghmuin*n*

Beand*acht* ar anm*ain* Fhianghuil.
gia ro fu*air* bas ga*n* dianghuin.
muna b*eith* Sit*r*iuc fo muir
bath*ad* Fhianghail is esb*uidh*.

Dob e lean*n*an na n-i*ngen*.
o hAengh*us*a in f*er* finngheal
T*u*c o Mogha mhe a cuibhr*ech*
dob e roga ar saer-Mhuimhn*e*ch.

Dob e tosach ar gcatha.
dob e cosc g*a*cha flatha
ar bhf*er* coml*ainn* in g*a*ch u*air*.
O *Con*uill e*cht*aigh armr*uaid*.

Failbhi ri CorcaDhuibhni.
ba fer seguinn re suirghi.
dob e gradh na mban Mui*m*nech.
o Conuire cae*mf*huighl*ech*.

Ro budh aibin*n* lem anocht.
ge fu*ar*us ad is ardolc.
da mar*a*d Fail*bhe* da eis.
bath*ad* Sit*r*iuc m*eic* T*ur*geis.

Truadh gan Fail*bhe* in fhuilt maisigh.
do rochtui*n* gu c*r*ich Chaisil.
Ro budh aibin*n* duin budhes.
da roiseadh lind da leighes.

A Don*n*ch*aid* is a Dhuin*n* Cuan.
tinol*aid* fesda bur sluagh.

[illegible] triall[1] dar toigh.
go tuccam . . . . . .
Fasbad Muimhnech Failbhe finn.

. . . . . tinoilset[2] na laec-Mhuimhnig na longa don leathanmhuir 7 tucsat gu tir iat 7 ro feradh failti re Ceallachan 7 re Donnchuan ag na curadaibh. *Ocus* rogabsad oc egcaine a n-uasal 7 a n-oirrigh 7 a n-aurad. *Ocus* athbert Donnchad mac Caeim in laid.

87. Deas duin a Chealla*chain* chaei*m*.
a mic Buadachain blathchaein.
gan do rochtain tar lear lan.
le Sitriuc soir tar serbhshal.

Muimhnig rot mor-fhuasluic as.
a Ceallachain na lann n-glas.
as iat tainic ceim crodha.
d'Ard Macha na morthora.

Muna tisdais 'na longuibh.
tar tuiltibh tar tromthonnaibh.
oirrigha iarthair Muimnech.
ro bud cian do chruadhcuibhrech.

Tangatar sect bhfichit carb.
do t'iarraidse gu hagarbh.
Laighdigh is Duibnigh tar linn.
Ciarraige Corco Baiscinn.

Ua Eachach is Corcamruad.
tancadar tar lear linnfhuar
cu riacht Sruth na Maeili mas.
do marbad na n-Gall[3] n-gleglas.

Lingset ar catha cruaidhi.
fa Ard Macha mongruaidhi
a tuaidh anoir is anes.
ocus aniar gu coimhdhes. Des.

[1] The beginning of the first three lines of p. 156, col. 2 is obliterated. O'Curry in his copy notes: »MS. gnawed here by rats«.
[2] O'Curry has: ro thinoilset.
[3] The MS. has: na n-gall n-gall.

88. Is and sin tucsat maithe a muin*ntir*i isin mbaili anund da n-adlacadh 7 do bad*ar* gu c*r*odha cu*m*th*ac*h caithesbach r*e* hedh na hoightisin 7 ro eirghedar gu moch arnamharach d'an*n*lac*a*d a muinntiri 7 rucsat uaisli a*n*-oirr*ig* 7 maithi a muin*ntir*i leo g*us*in cill don taeibh thuaidh do Dun Dealg*an* 7 docuir*e*d a ceat*hr*a huaghaib a n-oirr*ig*a 7 tai*n*ic Don*n*chadh mac Caei*m* osa cinn 7 ro ghabh ag in*n*isi a coscair 7 dorinni in l*aid* ar d*eredh* in sceoil.

89. Seact bhfichit long *ar* in muir.
tai*n*ic leisna hoirrighuibh.
noca terna [dib] gan ghuin.
acht tri fichid da mui*nntir*.

[156 b., c. 1] Do m*arbad* Cobhth*a*ch na gcath.
do [marbad][1]) Flann fuil*ech*
do baid*edh* Eid*er*s[cel ann]
[is] do m*arbad* a fhoiren*n*.

Do comthuit Cobhth*a*ch san cath
is in Locl*ann*ach ladhac*h*.
. . . . . n-im*archr*aigh oir.
a n-Ath Cliath na corn comhoil.

Do co*m*thuit Eid*er*scel an*n*.
ocus Locl*ann*ach na lan*n*
is do co*m*thuit Flan*n* fuil*ech*.
is Sen-A*m*laib[2]) sarghuin*e*ch.

Dubhdhabhoirenn maith duine.
co Len[n]-T*urmun*[2]) na huidhe.
d*ar* m*arbad* an t-i*ar*la an*n*.
ba t*r*eisi d'fe*r*uibh L*ochlann*.

Do marb*ad* Seghdha is Failbhi.
duinne rob adb*ar* m*air*gi.
is do gon*ad* *Con*gal cr*u*aidh.
a hiath Mumhan an mhorshluaigh.

[1]) The end of the first three lines of this column has likewise been gnawed by rats.

[2]) Written in one word in the MS.

Do chomhraicset riu *ar* in muir.
Sitriuc gu luing Lochlannaig.
ocus Maghnus in tuir tren.
is Tora na renn roiger.

Torchuir Maghnus ar in moir.
ocus Segda in ghaiscid gloin.
Tora is Congal in cedna.
Sitriuc Failbhe firghegda.

Do comraic Ciarraigi cruaidh.
re Finnlochlann on tir thuaidh
dar chomthuit Conchubar caemh.
is ri Finn Lochlann foltclaen.

CorcoBaiscinn buiden des.
co Lenn-Turmun chathrach Pers
dar comthuitsed ar in linn.
Persa *ocus* CorcoBaiscinn.

Tachraid re chele 'san chuan.
Fuarlochlann is Corcamruad.
nogur mharbsat a cheli.
ar in ler co lanredhi.

Ann sin tuc in tuili a tír.
ni dha longuibh gu lanbrig.
inntibh do chuadar amach
Muimnig *ar* in ler longach.

Ar n-dul Ceallachain 'san luing.
co muinntir Fhailbhi armdhuinn.
o do riacht a airm chatha.
nir lamhsat mac na flatha.

Gabsat Loclannaig amach.
a corraibh a long loindrech.
nocha dechaidh dhibh for fecht.
acht mad a se for a *secht. secht.*

90. A haithli a muin*ntir*i do ro*cht*ain an aeinin*ad* do thinoilset a longa fei*n* 7 longa na Locl*annac*h 7 do loiscset uili iat 7 do loiscset an baili *Ocus* do bhi d*r*eam 'ga radha in tslighe a n-gebhdais do thoirismhedh 7 d*r*eam oca fiaf*r*aig*ed* ca ragdais d'ascna*m* a ti*r*i fei*n*. [156 b., c. 2] an tslighi bhud des co dir*ech* ar d*r*eam acu. Ni ba hi *ar* Ceall*achan* 7 *ar* Don*n*ch*ad* mac Caei*m* acht in*n*saighium gu hAth Cl*i*ath air*m* a bhfuileat meic 7 mna 7 muin*nter*a na Locl*annach* 7 in b*en* tre*ar* gabhudh Ceall*achan* 7 trear m*ar*bad *ar* m*uin*t*er* .i. Mor i*ngen* Aedha m*ei*c Echach 7 do rinni in l*aid*.

91. Denaidh comhairle c*r*odha.
a fhian alain*n* fhirbheodha.
'ga slighi a raghthai budh dhes.
a c*r*ich Mum*an* na moirles.

Da n-dechthai t*ar* clar Cruachna.
duibhsi bud f*or*lun*n* fuachda.
ni leicfit sibh da bh*ar* toigh.
gan cath is gan c*ru*aidhirg*ail*.

Da n-dechthai tre cl*ar* Mhidhe.
a shlua[i]gh is lor leidm*igh*i.
do ghebhthai ar in slig*id* toir.
Don*n*ch*adh* is na Lochlan*naig*.

Raghmaitne t*re* cl*ar* Midhe.
Os in*n*ti ata in ai*n*mhfhine.
no gu roisium gidh ceisd c*ru*aidh.
budhes a Mum*ain* mongr*uaid*.

In*n*saight*er* lib co hAth Cl*i*ath.
don Midhe guma moirliach.
aniugh gidh alain*n* an gne.
beit an*n* dui*n*ti fa dhuibhdhe.
Den*aid* co*mairle* c*r*odha.

92. IS an*n* sin ro chuirset fir Mhum*an* a cean*n* sheda 7 aisdir 7 imthechta gu cu*m*thach crodha ciallm*er* 7 ro creachsat gach c*r*ich 7 ro loicset g*a*ch lis 7 g*a*ch lanbaili tharla

doibh a seimhdhir[e] *i* gacha slig*ed* o Dun Dealgan cu hAth-Cliath *Ocus* do riacht fis rompa don righbhaili 7 do hindisedh do mnaibh na Lochlannach a bhfir do mharbad 7 Ceallachan do breith ar eicin uatha.

95. IS ann sin adubhart bean Tora meic Thuirgheis .i. Mor ingen Donnchada. Do fhedarsa arsi in comairli. dha ticfad bas Ceallachain. 7 maidm ar Mhuimhnechaib .i. dul duin isin grianan a bhfuil Mor ingen Aedha meic Echach in ben dorad gradh do Ceallachan 7 a innisi dhi Ceallachan do mhilled 7 Muimnig do mharbad 7 doghebha sisi bas do chumhaid Cheallachain 7 doghebha sum bas da cumaid si 7 budh maidhm ar Muimnechaib da bhfagasom bas. Dentar amlaid ar na mna 7 do innisedar don ingin [157 a, c. 1] na scelasin. Ni fir dhaibh idir a mhna ar Mor 7 do budh ferr libhsi cumad fhir an scelsin 7 as deimin gu bhfuiged Ceallachan bas da bhfaguinnsi mh'oighed. *Ocus* do gheibhimsi a scela gach n-oighthi a m'imdhaid 7 ni dam ben-sa fós do ar an ingen.

94. IS ann sin do riacht tosach sluaig Muman cusin mbaili 7 ro tinoiledh bai 7 bothainti in baili leo 7 a ór 7 a aircet 7 a ilmhaine 7 tucad mna 7 maccaeimh in baili da n-innsaigid. 7 tucadh Mor ingen Aedha meic Echach 7 Bebinn ingen Tuirgeis gu Ceallachan. 7 adubairt re Donn Cuan mac Ceinneidig Bebinn do beith aigi do bhaincele. 7 do ronad amlaid acu. 7 do bhi a rogha mna ag gach fhir dibh osin amach. *Ocus* do bhatar gu cenn sectmaine ar an seolad sin. *Ocus* oc imtheacht doibh ro loiscset in baili.

95. Tancatar rompa iarsin gu cenn oirrtherach mhuighi na hAlmhaine *Ocus* mar do bhadar annsin co bhfacadar na .v. catha coraighthi ar lar an muighi fo glere sciath 7 lann 7 luirech fo ghlere shleagh 7 chotun 7 cathbarr *Ocus* as e do bhi ann sin. Murchad mac Finn ri Laigen 7 a tri derbraithre .i. Donnchad 7 Find 7 Aedh 7 Conghal mac Laig[g]sigh ri Laidhisi Laigen *Ocus* Donnchad mac Aedha ri Fotharta Laigen *Ocus* Muirchertach mac Tuathail ri O Mail *Ocus* Concubar mac Donnchada ri O bhFailghe *Ocus* Bran Bherba mac Amhalghaidh ri Omuigi 7 O Mairgi.

96. Mar atconnuic ri Laigen slogh Muman cuigi adubairt re sagart da mhuintir. Eirigh olse cu feruibh Muman 7

[1]) The beginning of the three first lines of this column is gnawed.

cuinnig braighdi dhamhsa orra 7 gumba hiat na braighdi sin Ceallachan 7 Donnchuan 7 innis doibh nach gebsa braighdi ele *acht* in dias sin no cath do chuir ar an sleibh. Teit in sacart roime cu hairm a mbatar fir Muman. 7 adubairt inni sin fris.

97. Ro eirghetar ferga 7 fuasnada a miledaib Muman ona
| moirbriathraibh sin. Do raid Donnchad mac Caeim [157 a., c. 2] . . . . . [1]) na *ar* sibhailne 7 ni budh soanach . . . . . 7 *ar* dithaigid d'uaislibh 7 d'orrigaib . . . . . ag cosnum na deisi sin da tucmais doibhsium iat 7 abairsi frius umh an gilla is mesa *ar* an sluaghsa nach tibrimis doibsium he *ar* aba catha.

98. IS ann sin adubairt Donnchad as ail damh athchuingid uaibh. a fhira Muman .i. tosach in chatha so do leiced damh fein 7 da bhfuil do clainn Eogain annso 7 gan Ceallachan do theacht isin cath. Tucad dosum sin *Ocus* adubairt Ceallachan. O nach leacar mhisi isin cath diglaid gu maith Cormac mac Cuillennain *ar* Laighnibh or ata dá bliagain cu leith 7 da fhiceat gan dighailt 7 nir thaircset *ar* son cinn gacha cleirigh dar marbad ann *acht* enbo 7 atbert in laid.

Cuiridh re Laighnibh na leacht 7 rl.

99. IS annsin doirghedar (sic) clanna oiregda admara Eoghuin 7 ro coraighedh acu fraecda fosaid feramail feinedh

Here The MS. ends abruptly.[1]) In the paper-manuscript $\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$ in the Royal Irish Academy (p. 87 l. 23—p. 88, l. 9) the story has the following conclusion:

100. Ciodh tra *acht* iar mbáthadh na mborbLochlonnach uile 7 *ar* ttuitim na n-uasalttriath Muimhneach, tainic Ceallachan a ttir, agus ró fhailtigh*edar* meanman[n]a 7 aigionnta na n-árdtaoisioc roimhe. Cuirios Ceallachan dá losgadh an médh don loingios nár báthadh san salmhuir 7 as i cómhairle ar chinnsiad na curadha, ionnsuighe go Righ Chinéil cConuill, óir as é do chuir feasa (amhuil adubhramar reomainn) go Hárdmacha a ceann Lochlonnach, dá rádh ríu Ceallachán do breith go Dún Dealgain. Niór thóg Muirchertach a aghaidh dhóibh, gidhedh do ronnsad airgne 7 éadála na criche uile, 7 tángadar as

[1]) O'Curry in his copy writes in the margin: »imperfect — E. C.

sin go Leamhain ; cuirid uata d'fógrad catha ar Donnchadh Mac Flainn Sionna .i. Righ Eírean, óir do cheadaicc sé Ceallachán roime sin do gabháil an Áth Cliath. ró diúltaicc Donnchadh cathughadh ríu, 7 ód díultaidh, ro chreachsad Fuatha Leamhrach. Rangadar as sin go Caisiol Mumhan, 7 do roinnedh na Criócha go cubhaidh le Ceallachán ider na huaislibh. 7 ro chaithsiad in aimsir go suaimhneach siothchanta ó sin anonn, go bhfuair Chealláchán Caisil Mac Buadh[a]cháin bas ionmholta a cCaisiol Anno Domini 952

The battle-career of Cellachan of Cashel, here.

1. A noble, lofty-spirited high-king whose name was Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Finguine, got the sovereignty and possession of the two provinces of Munster. And it was during his time that the Lochlannachs first obtained power over Erin. But from the time of Airtri to the good time of Cellachan they found battles and conflicts. And these were the kings who were over Cashel during that period, and the length of their reigns, and the [different] deaths that carried them off.

2. Airtri, son of Cathal, [reigned] 20 years, and he died a natural death.

Feidlimid, son of Crimthan, 27 years over Munster and over Erin, and he died a natural death through the curse of the great Ciaran, son of the Carpenter.

Olchobar, son of Cinaed, 4 years. And it was he who gained the battle of Sciach Nechtain over the Foreigners, in which twelve hundred of them were killed along with Tomar the earl. And he [i. e. Olchobar] died a natural death.

Maelguala, son of Dungal, 7 years, and the Foreigners killed him.

Cennfaelad, son of Mochtigern, 7 years, and he died a natural death.

Donnchad, son of Dubdaboirenn, 4 years, and he died a natural death at Cashel.

Dublachta, son of Maelguala, 7 years, and he died of pestilence in his banqueting house.

Finguine, son of Laegaire, 7 years, and his own brothers killed him because of his having (only) half-drunk a feast.

Cormac, son of Cuilennan, 7 years, and the Leinstermen killed him in the battle of Leithglinn.

Flaithbertach, son of Inmainen, 37 years, and he died a natural death.

Lorcan, son of Conligan, one year and a half, and he died a natural death.

3. These were the tributes and taxes of the abominable Foreigners from the soldiers of Munster, namely, a king over every cantred, and a chieftain over every tribe, an abbot over every church, a bailiff over every village, and a billetted soldier in every house. Without as much as a clutch of eggs of one hen for his own food or drink. Without a cloak or a good dress on king or noble lady, but only the cast-off cloaks and clothes of the Danes and the ignoble Lochlannachs. Without sages, without noble clerics, without books, without full reliquaries in church or in building or in monastery, but Danes in [possession of] their temples, and their churches, and their beautiful forts. Without philosophers, without poets, without minstrels pursuing the lawful customs and hereditary rights of their good kings despite of the hatred of the rough Lochlannachs. Without any daughter of a king or high lord or chieftain to work embroidery, or to practise charity (?) or skilful handiwork. Without any son of a king or chieftain to acquire agility, or to practise or to learn true feats of arms. Without [permission] for the Munstermen to give banquets or old ales to a champion or to a neighbour, unless it were against the command of these true tyrants. And in this condition they were during a time of eleven and seven score years, viz. from the ninth year of the reign of Airtri to the time of Lorcan, son of Conligan.

4. Then arose a heroic, battle-victorious, valorous gentle king to repel this oppression and to contest the country against the battalions of the Lochlannachs, viz. Cellachan, son of Buadachan, son of Lachtna, son of Artgal, son of Snedgus, son of Donngal, son of Faelgus, son of Natfraech, son of Colgan, son of Failbe, son of Aed dub, son of Cremthann, son of Feidlimid, son of Aengus, son of Natfraech, son of Corc, son of Lugaid, son of Ailill Flann Bec, son of Fiachu Muillethan, son of Eogan Mór, son of Ailill Olom. It seems from the writings of the historians that from Airtri to noble Brian the heroes or terri-

tories of Munster were not freed, except what the nimble-sworded Cellachan did to defend them. For that was the man who spent a year and a half in searching Munster, both wood, and hill, and gentle valley, both stream, and lake, and full river, both harbour and smooth strand and seaport, both fort and strong fortress and the broad land of every Norseman, seeking charity in every fortress, and shelter in every town, poorly for his melodious clerical offices, and with his mottled bag round his neck, spying out every place, and making a close examination of every stronghold, in order that he might get knowledge of its lands, its waterfalls, and its fresh woods, when it should be laid upon him to fight for its territory. So that he did not leave one stead of a landholder or purveyor in the two provinces of Munster unvisited, in order that he might know the name of every village and of every tribe and have knowledge of every lord of the country. And after searching the territories he came to Cashel. For it is there his mother was, and she, the noble queen, was the wife of the coarb of Cashel. And Cellachan had been begotten in violation of her marriage with him. And during the year and a half that Cellachan was traversing the country, she was herself collecting arms, and clothes, and treasures, and retaining companies of foot-soldiers and gentle household-troops. And this is the number of those who were fed (?) by and fully bound to her, viz. 500 armed men.

5. The day on which Cellachan came to Cashel after he had obtained this host, was the day on which there was a great host of the two provinces of Munster at Glenn-amain of Cashel electing a king. And according to their opinion it was Cennedig, son of Lorcan, whom they would make king. For this is the arrangement of the high-kingship that was between the descendants of Eogan Mór and the descendants of Cormac Cas: The man who was the senior of the gentle clans, his was the kingship. If the high-king was of the descendants of Eogan, the tanist-ship belonged to the descendants of Cormac Cas. And if the noble king was of the descendants of Cormac, the tanist-ship went to the descendants of Eogan Mór. The kingship not to go to any of them, unless he were

the best in knowledge, and true learning, and princely honour of the noble heroes. On that day while they were electing a king, his mother said to Cellachan, that he should come to visit them, and that she would herself go before him and tell his story to Cennedig and to gentle Donnchad. And [she told him that] when the nobles of Munster were sitting down, he should come with his people in the best of arms and dress, and ask hostages and pledges of them and tell Cennedig to remember justice.

The queen proceeded to Glennamain, and arriving there, she said to the nobles of Munster: »Remember the arrangement, which Cormac Cas and Fiachu Muillethan made between their great descendants! And there is of the descendants of Eogan a man who is senior by age and knowledge to you, o Cennedig, and he is a king in figure and appearance«. Cennedig asked who he was. The queen said that he was the son of Buadachan and she made the lay:

Remember, o pleasant Cennedig!
the arrangement of Fiachu and Cormac Cas,
that they left it so that Munster should be divided
rightly between their gentle descendants, etc.

When the champions of Munster heard these great words and the speech of the woman, Clan Eogan said that the heir (?) should be brought to them, that they might make him king. Cennedig left the assembly, for he did not consider it an honourable or proper thing that the kingship should be assigned away from himself to another man. And moreover, he did not consider it an honourable thing that his brotherhood should be broken. And Donnchad left the mound, when he saw that the chiefs of the tribes were electing Cellachan. And that is what they said, that they would not quarrel with him, for neither rent nor tax nor fair tribute would any of them get out of it [i. e. the land of Munster?], but the full benefit of it would go to the Lochlannachs, and they themselves would defend it [i. e. Munster?]. And thus it was arranged.

7. Then arose the seventeen tribes right readily in order to make Cellachan king. And they set up his »*gairm rígi*« [i. e. they proclaimed him king] and gave thanks to the true, magnificent God for having found him. The following were the best of those chieftains. The slender, valiant Suilleban before the festive race of Fingin, and the sportive Ribordan before the valorous children of Donngal, and the fierce Caellaidi, and the heroic soldier Laindacan, and the bold Duinechad, and the brave Cuilen, and the battlesome Eigertach, and Ligan of daring deeds. These nobles came to Cellachan and put their hands in his hand and placed the royal diadem round his head, and their spirits were raised at the grand sight of him. For he was a king for great stature, and a brehon for eloquence, and a learned saga-man for knowledge, and a lion for daring deeds.
8. However, Cellachan addressed the clan Eogan and told them to make valiant war with him, and they said they would do it. And they said that they would advance, ten hundred men in number, to Limerick to burn it. And when they arrived, they sent word to the heroic Amlaib of Limerick, and to the clan Connra, namely to Morann, and to Magnus, and to great Lochlann, to tell them quickly to leave Limerick or to give hostages to them.

   When the messengers came to the heroes of Limerick, they began to deride them, and this is what they expected, that never would Munster or even Limerick be contested against them. And they said that they would give battle.
9. When the clan Eogan heard this, Suilleban of the noble hosts addressed them, and told them to fight a brave and hardy battle against the Lochlannachs and valiantly to guard their king in this onslought. And he said to the nobles of the Eoganachts: »Let not the clan of Cormac Cas hear of (any) conditions in your deliberations, let not clan Echach hear of weakness in your princes, but proceed together to the battle, and give your first battle valiantly in defence of your own country against the Danes. If there be defeat and rout of battle before you upon the heroes, it will be all the better for

yourselves, and for your prosperity, and your positions. Limerick will be in your hand, and Cashel in your succession, and Munster will be in the possession of your nobles, if yours is the victory in this battle to day. And if it is not yours, I do not see land or dwelling-place left to your nobles, but only defeat on your soldiers, and destruction upon your heroes on this very day. Hence it behoves you to contest it and to fight bravely against the champions of Lochlann. And the following lay was made to urge them on.

10. Come to Limerick of the ships,
O Clan Eogan of the noble deeds!
Around the gentle Cellachan,
To Limerick of the riveted stones.

Defend your own beloved land,
O descendants of Ailill dear!
In the battle of Limerick of the swift ships.
Set Munster of the great tribes free!

Defend Cellachan valiantly,
The king of your country, the noble of your host!
Do not leave the van of battle to him
Against the usurpers!

Let the sportive Ribordan come
Before us into the hard-contested battle!
Let the valiant Caellaidi come,
Let the full-lively Ligan come!

Let Duinecadh of many colours come,
And Fogartach of the variegated arms!
Let Lainnechan of the forts come
Before us into the hard, well arranged battle!

Let Donnchad, famous in song,
Come before us against the heroes of Lochlann,
And Cuilen of the hard battles,
The descendant of Eogan, who carries off fair victory!

Let Aed, son of Coll, the friend of the clergy [or:
of the bands of poets],
come before us to the slaughter of battle,
And Aed, the son of fair Ailginan,
Let the ready king come before us!

I myself shall come, with a hundred and fifty swords,
Before you to the great and fierce Morand,
And I shall slay for you the hero of the blades,
The festive descendant of the king of Cold Lochlann.

Arise, o handsome, valiant host,
Whose hereditary right is Munster of the great
forts!
Contest Cashel eagerly
Against the sharp-bladed host of Lochlann!

Let not nimble Cennedig,
The son of Lorcan of the new-blue blades,
Hear that your fighting is weakspirited and cowardly,
O host of Cashel of the beautiful spears!

Let not Donnchad in his house hear,
The son of the gentle descendant of the warlike
Caem,
Of our having been overthrown in the battle,
routed ignominously,
By the champions of Lochlann.

Seventeen dexterous tribes to you,
O son of gentle, generous Buadachan!
A champion of each bold-tribe
Of Clan Eogan is with us.

Give battle bravely,
O heroes of Munster with great pride!
Let your country be delivered from bondage
O heroes of Munster, it is you who can do it!
Come to Limerick of the ships.

11. Then towards the battle arose the descendants of Eogan fiercely, prudently, bravely around their gentle king, around Cellachan. And there was arrayed bravely by the heroes an ever beautiful, very strong, fold (?) of battle, surrounded by standards, and a solid, very thick palisade of spears, and a strong, princely-ensigned tower of chiefs, and a skilful phalanx of blue blades, and a handsome (?), strong enclosure of linen cloth around the heroes. For the heroes had neither blue helmets nor shining coats of mail, but only elegant tunics with smooth fringes, and shields, and beautiful, finely wrought collars to protect bodies, and necks, and gentle heads.

12. Then there was arrayed by the heroes of Lochlann a solid, skilful and firm rampart of strong coats of mail, and a thick, dark stronghold of black iron, and a green-polished, hard-sharp city of battleshields, and a strong enclosure of stout shafts around the heroic Amlaib, and around Lochlann, and Morann, and Magnus. For these were the four battle-heroes of the Lochlann champions, and four hundred accompanied each hero of them.

13. Then the valorous descendants of Eogan placed themselves at the upper end of the plain in high spirits around their gentle king Cellachan, and they put the hooks of their shields over each another, and they made »champion-knots« by attaching their broad belts to each other, and they arrayed the seventeen brave men who were the most noble of the high lords around their royal prince to protect him well. Great spirit arose in their king, and anger in their champions, and courage in their soldiers, and fury in their heroes, and valour in their gallant men and fierceness in their youths.

14. However, when their youths, their champions and their proud, haughty folk came to the front of the battle to throw their stones and slender arrows and pointed spears from each side of the heroes, the ground of the plain was left to the soldiers, and the battle-field to the heroes, and the place of slaughter to the veterans. And when the noble warriors of Lochlann and the soldiers of Munster arrived at the place of defence they began to smite their battle-clubs heroically and to strike their swords on each another. However this full encounter was one-sided. For the bodies and skins and hearts of the bright champions

of Munster were quickly pierced through the fine linen garments, and their very sharp blades did not take any effect upon the Lochlannachs because of the rough solidity of their blue coats of mail, and their clubs did not maim the heroes, and the swords did not lacerate the heads because of the hardness of the helmets that protected them, and the Lochlannachs made a great havock among the Munstermen during a part of that day.

15. However when Cellachan perceived, that the soldiers were being slain, and that the heroes were being wounded, and that the champions were being maimed, and that Clan Eogan was being slaughtered, then arose his wrath, his rage, and his vigour, and he makes a royal rush, caused by fits of mighty passion, at the nobles of the Lochlannachs, while the noble descendants of the race of Eogan protect him. Cellachan reached the war-like Amlaib and made an attack on the rough mail-coat of the warrior, so that he loosened his helmet under his neck, and split his head with his hard strokes, so that the Lochlannach fell by him.

16. Then Suilleban with his 150 brave, valiant swordsmen arrived to his defence, and he made a breach of savage ferocity through the centre of the heroic batallion of the Lochlannachs. Then arose the unviolated pillar, and the unsubdued hero, and the lion unconquered until that day, namely the long-haired, high spirited Morann of the fierce people, i. e. the son of the fleet-king of Lewis, with 150 heroes who arose with him. And when the chiefs had met, they smote each another fiercely, like true foes, and with hard strength. Suilleban however planted his spear through the boss of the buckler and beneath the rim of the helmet into the hero, so that it passed quickly into the hero's neck, and placed the head in the power of the battle-soldier. And he beheaded the brave man and brought the head with him to Cellachan to boast of his triumph. And the people of the Lochlannach fell in that fight.

17. Then Donnchad and brave Magnus met together in the battle. They struck off the points of their broad-grooved swords, and battered their shields into pieces with their full-heavy clubs, and wounded their bodies with their javelins. Magnus however fell by great Donnchad.

18 Then Lochlann and Ribordan engaged in battle before Cellachan, and Lochlann inflicted very sharp, terrible wounds on Ribordan. When the hero was wounded, and the champion pierced through, and when he perceived that his arms took no effect upon the veteran who was before him, Ribordan made a heroic rush upon Lochlann, and left his sword, and his longbladed spear, and he put in mind his sharp iron-blue mail-coat and laid dexterously hold of the lower part of the cuirass of the Lochlannach with his left hand, and gave the champion a sudden pull, so that he maimed the broad bosom of the hero, and that his bowels and entrails fell out of him. And he beheaded the champion and lifted his head in triumph. Nevertheless there fell these four valiant champions of the Lochlann heroes, and the (other) heroes left their places, and the soldiers were overthrown and made for Limerick to shut themselves quickly up there. And it was through the rear of the Lochlannachs that the nobles of Munster went into the town, so that the Lochlannachs were not able to close the gates, and the champions were killed in the houses and in the towers. They brought their wifes, and children, and people in captivity to the nobles of Munster, and collected the gold, silver and various riches of the town, and brought the heads, trophies, and battle-spoils of the heroes to Cellachan, and the heads of the four who were the most noble of the Lochlannachs were exhibited to him. Therefore to testify to this the poet sang the following words in relating the slaughters and triumphs, and in enumerating those who were killed of the great Lochlannachs and those who were slain of the Munstermen in this great battle, and he said:

Valiant are you, o descendants of Eogan,
And fierce are your lions.
Noble is your king as he comes from the battle,
The heroic, triumphant Cellachan.

Valiant Suilleban of the hosts,
Son of Mael Ugra of the red arms,
After having slain the long-haired Morann
From the country of Lewis of the Norsemen.

Valiant Donnchad, red his face,
When he killed the cheerful Magnus,
And let his fury play upon him,
So that the red-handed hero fell.

Valiant Ribordan of the quatrains,
By him fell the hero of the blades,
Morann, son of plundering Connra,
Of the »stranger tribe« [?] of Eogan of the high judgments.

By the nimble Cellachan fell
Amlaib of Limerick of the blue blades,
And thirty by wound of spears
Of his people in the great fight.

Five-hundred heroes — hard was their fight —
Of the host of Lochlann, without full deceit,
That is the number, that was slain by you,
Of the host of Limerick of the mighty ships.

Three-hundred heroes — it was no trifling number —
Of the heroes of Munster of the great blades,
This is the number that fell in the battle
Of our champions with bright success.

Sweet Buadachan is not to be pitied,
The descendant of Aed of the beautiful arms,
Since he left a son without deceit,
Cellachan who defends his home.
Valiant are you, o descendants of Eogan.

20. Thereupon the heroes collected the spoils, and some of them said that they should stay that night in the town and proceed the next morning to Cashel to plunder and burn it. Suilleban said to the hosts that they should go that very night to Cork, the place where their hostages and captives were, so that no news or messengers might get there before them. The champions decided on this plan and they came to Cork that night. The Danes and Black Gentiles of the town came out against them to

ight with them. The battle was gained on the Danish Black Gentiles, and the town was wrecked by the champions, and they brought away with them their hostages from the captivity in which they were. The men of Munster were that night in Cork consuming their banquets and provisions (?), and they stayed three days in the city and then made up their mind to proceed to Cashel. When they were passing the corner of Sliab Crot, the men of Fermoy, and the Ui Cuanach, and the billetted soldiers of the Lochlannachs assembled against them, and gave them battle. And the battle was gained by the men of Munster, and 400 were killed of the billetted soldiers and their host. And of the ten hundred, who were of Clan Eogan at the battle of Limerick, no more than three hundred were alive on this day. They march on plundering each district, until they reached Thurles. The northern and the southern Eile assembled at Thurles to meet them to give them battle, and the Danes of the fortress along with them. When the Ui Luigdech and the Eoganachts heard this, they assembled to join Cellachan, with Cuilen, son of Aindiaraid, son of Dunadach, the lord of their country, and these two tribes with their champions with spears and swords, 500 in number, reached Cellachan. A battle is fought between them and the people of Ely. And they captured the king of Ely on that day, and the billetted soldiers of the Lochlannachs were slain by them, and 200 of Clan Eogan fell on that day. They plundered the country, but did not burn the town. And they go forward to Cashel, 600 in number. Donnchad son of Caem arrived at Cashel to meet them. Cellachan addressed him and reminded him of their friendship and promised him his turn [i. e. the alternative right] of Munster and to reward him properly, and he recited the lay:

21. Welcome! bold Donnchad,
O descendant of Eogan of the wooden arms,
Do not break our sweet brotherhood,
O descendant of Ailill Olom!

When the great Lochlannachs are against us,
O descendant of Echu of the golden diadems,
Do not debase thy own people,
O descendant of magnanimous Mug.

Doest thou know, descendant of kings of Munster,
Of the race of Cathal of the heroes,
By whom we are divided from him,
Since there is a space of time between us and then?

Aengus, son of Natfraech of your family,
After the coming of Patrick into the country,
It is through him we are parted,
O descendant of Aillill Olom.

Eochaid and great Fedlimid,
The two sons of Aengus, 'twas a noble deed!
With them we can boast of an equal relationship,
O Donnchad of the hardfought battlespoils.

Three and ten (in descent) without deceit
There are from me to Aengus, the descendant of Eogan.
Twice five and one, it is known,
Is from you Aengus of the high forts.

Such is their family-relationship,
O Donnchad of the fair face.
Nor has it been destroyed ever since
By the noble descendants of Eogan.

Far from you is hereditary relationship
With any Lochlannach hero.
Near to you is their venomous enmity,
O descendant of sword-wielding Cathal.

The taking prisoner of your slender grandfather
By the Lochlann army at the Gap of heroes,
And the killing of your father, — it has long been heard —,
By the Lochlann army of fierce numbers.

Let us march together to battle.
Let us destroy them one after another!
Do not let us abandon Munster of the victories
To the Lochlann host of the full-red arms!

I shall give substantial reward
To you, o descendant of a highking of Erin!
But come with me to the battle
Against the usurpers.

A hundred swords and a hundred shields,
A hundred servants to serve the king,
A hundred helmets and a hundred steeds
To you, o descendant of kings of the Munstermen.

Do you not think it a pity, O dear Donnchad,
O descendant of beloved Ailill,
That the women of Munster should be in captivity
— without deceit —,
And that the Lochlannachs should carry off their cows?

22. Donnchad however accepted these conditions from Cellachan, and it is thus he accepted them, namely that the burden of the battle of Cashel should be left on him, and that Cellachan should not go into it. The battle was fought by Donnchad, and it was gained over the Danes, and 300 were slain there by them. They were that night in Cashel, and consumed the feasts and prepared food of the Danes and Dark-Lochlannachs. The next morning they made up their mind, namely to proceed to Port Lairge, the place where the women and families of the Lochlannachs were, and to burn the town. And they proceed to the green of Port Lairge. But on the same day Sitric son of Turgeis arrived at Port Lairge with a division of six ships and a hundred on each ship of them. But they had not reached the land when the van of the host of Munster arrived at the city. The Danes closed the gates and began to defend the town. However, it was useless for them to engage in combat with the champions; for Cellachan, and gentle

Donnchad, and Suilleban, and Ribordan, and the quick, valiant soldiers of Munster leapt into the town. And the Danes were slaughtered in crowds by them, and the Norsemen were cut into pieces. Sitric left the town and went on board his ship, and his wife with him. And only one hundred fugitives of them reached their ships. The race of Eogan burned the town and plundered the district. And they proceed thence to the country of the Deisi, and take hostages and pledges of Domnall son of Faelan. There was concluded a matrimonial alliance and made friendship with him, and Gormflaith, the daughter of Buadachan, was given to him. Thence they proceed into the territory of the Ui-Mic-Caille and the Ui Liathain, and took hostages from them. And they brought the host of these territories with them into the district of the Eoganachts of Loch Léin and plundered the country. They brought these spoils with them into Muscraige, and the Eoganachts came up with them there, and the king of the Eoganachts was slain there, viz. Aed, son of Scannal, and 500 Eoganachts. They brought the same spoils with them to the two kings of Aes Isde, and took hostages from them, and they went themselves with them into the territory of West Munster, viz. to Aes Irrais. Congal, son of Annrathan, gave battle to the van of the army, and 200 were killed there. When Cellachan and the nobles of the race of Eogan reached the battle, Congal was captured by them, and a multitude of his people was slain. They plundered the district and stayed there for a fortnight. And they released Congal and took hostages from him.

23. Afterwards they went into the territory of Ciarraige and plundered the district. The inhabitants of Ciarraige and the Lochlannachs who previously had escaped from them in the battle of Limerick assembled against them and they went to them at Glenn Corbraigi. They fought with them there and made a great havock of the descendants of Eogan. But though they did so, they left the battlefield to them, and Conchubar, the king of Ciarraige, was captured by them. And their forces were greatly diminished after that battle. On that day Flannabra, son of Ciarmacan, king of Ui Conaill, assembled

his forces to meet them to get hostages from them. But when he perceived the small number of their host, the resolution he made was to demand hostages or battle of them. But when they were about to begin the battle, then Donnchuan, son of Cennedig, arrived to join Cellachan. For he had been the night before in the house of Uainide, son of Cathal, king of Ui Cairbre, and after his arrival he began to inspect the Danes and the foreigners. At seeing him the descendants of Eogan welcomed him and told him to remember his friendship. Cellachan promised Ui Conaill to himself, if he subdued them in this battle. Donnchuan assented to this, for he thought it an evil thing to let Clan Eogan be slaughtered and reduced in numbers, and he recited the lay.

[Donnchuan]. Alone are you, o descendants of Corc.
Alas! Your bodies were cut into pieces,
And your men were stretched on their backs
In the battle of Limerick of the great ships.

It seems to us that your hosts have been slain,
O descendants of Eogan of the red arms,
And that your heroes have been defeated,
O race of Ailill Olom.

It is a pity that I have not come to the battle,
O host of Cashel of the gentle graces,
Before the Ciarraige arrived here,
And the heroic host of Lochlann.

[Cellachan]. Since thou didst not overtake us there,
O Donnchuan of the hundred helmets!
Keep from us the valiant Ui Conaill,
And overthrow their gatherings!

Remember, what they did in the North,
Mog Corb and Fiacha, who found victory,
The son of Eogan, from whom we are descended,
And the son of the fairhaired Cormac Cas.

The slaying of Eogan and of Aed
By Mog Corb, 'twas a . . . . deed!
The son of Dimchadh of the coloured weapons
And the son of the great Ath . . . [?]

Let both of us do, o gentle, pleasant one,
What the son of Cormac Cas did,
And the son of Eogan — without deceit —,
Fiacha Muillethan the very slender.

I will do, and you, o gentle plunderer,
O descendant of Eogan of the high judgments,
What those two did without hatred,
Since it has happened to us to be but few in number.

25. Cellachan then said to Donnchuan that he should not kill the king of the Ui Conaill if he happened to fall into his power. Donnchuan gave his word that he should spare no one in battle or conflict even if he had been a friend of his before. And they went to the battle together. Flannabra, son of Ciarmacan, was captured by them, and there was made a great slaugter of his people, and the Ui Conaill were overthrown in the battle. The country was plundered by Cellachan, and they were that night in Ui Conaill. Uaithne, son of Cathal, and the Ui Cairbre, and the remnants of the Ui Conaill, assembled against them at Cromad to give them battle, and when they were about to begin the battle, then Donnchad, son of Caem, with 500 men arrived to their assistance. The battle was fought, and the king of Ui Cairbre was slain there, and they stay that night in Cromad. The two Corcamruads and the two Corco Baiscinn assembled at Cromad to meet them, for they did not know, that Cenneidig had not a share in the battles and they sent messengers to Cellachan to demand battle of him. When Cellachan heard this he told Donnchuan to go against them and not to let them give battle to him. And he made the quatrain:

It is no wonder that the descendants of Cas
Defend the country of the green soil,

Since the Cuire of the harbour come
To fight about the grass-green land.

" However when Donnchad came to speak with them, the battle was stayed, and Cellachan went to Cashel. The men of Munster assembled to meet him after the expulsion of the Danes and the base Norsemen from the towns and fair fortresses. He who arrived first there was Cennedig, son of Lorcan, with the nobles of Dal Cais, and the tanist-ship of Munster and its kingship after Cellachan was given to him. They consumed the banquets of Cashel happily and calmly there, and they sent messengers to demand their tributes and taxes of the people of Ossory, viz. from Donnchad son of Cellach. For it was a long time when this tribute had not been exacted by the champions of Munster, viz. seven score and eleven years, while the territory was in the power of the Danes. The people of Ossory did not give them tribute, and because they did not give it, they plundered the country. And they gained four battles over the men of Leinster during that year, and in the fourth battle Donnchad, son of Cellach, was captured by them, and the people of Ossory gave hostages afterwards.

27. When Cellachan had made order in the districts and destroyed his enemies, the direction the Lochlannachs took was to Ath Cliath, and they hold counsel there. The following were the foremost of them at that time, viz. Sitriuc son of Turgeis and his brothers, namely Tor, Magnus and Turgeis, and the Lochlannach Ladach, and the Lochlannach of the blades, and old Amlaib, and Linn-Turmun of the journey, and Linn-Turmun na Pers, and the son of the king of Fair Lochlann, and the son of the king of Cold Lochlann. And that is what they decided, namely to send messengers to Cellachan, and to promise him Bebinn, the daughter of Turgeis, and to tell him to go to Ath Cliath to marry her, and [to inform him] that they leave him the territory of Munster without contest. The reason, why they did this, was the hope of capturing Cellachan and of killing those who accompained him. They made known the plan that was formed in the bosom of the Lochlannachs to the king of Erin, viz. to Donnchad, son of Flann, king of Tara.

For Cellachan had not consented to pay tax or tribute to him. The king of Erin agreed with this plan, and they sent messengers to Cellachan.

28. Cellachan asked the nobles of Munster what he should do in that matter, and they told him to go there. »Let us assemble an army«, said Cellachan, »and let us proceed in battle-array to Ath Cliath. Let us not go into the fortress there, but let yonder woman be sent out to us.« »That is not what is right«, said Cenneidig, »but go there with 80 sons of kings, and we shall continue to stay at Cashel. For we shall not leave Munster unprotected, and there is not in Erin a fortress of the Lochlannachs, that we shall not reach, if you are betrayed.« They did so, and Cellachan went there with 80 princes.

29. That night there happened to be a discourse between Sitric, the son of Turgeis, and his wife. And his wife asked him why he gave his sister to Cellachan, as it was he who had destroyed the Lochlannachs. He answered that is was not out of kindness to him, but in order to capture himself and to slay his people. The woman arose early the next morning, and put a bondmaid's dress round her. For this discource which she had heard was grievous to her as she herself greatly loved Cellachan. She left the town, and came upon the road where she supposed that the Munstermen would come. And as she stayed there she beheld Cellachan approaching, and the woman told this news to him. Cellachan asked her who she herself was. »Mor, daughter of Aed, son of Echu, am I,« said the woman, »daughter of the king of the Islands of the Foreigners (i. e. the Hebrides), and my husband is Sitric, son of Turgeis, of the Fair Lochlannachs. And I fell in love with you the day I saw you at Port Lairge.« And she recited the song; but there is nothing in this song but a repetition of the story.[1])

[1]) The poem is found in full in the papercopies of the Royal Irish Academy ($\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$, p. 68), and of Egerton 106, p. 89. The text being very corrupt, it is impossible, with this a well as with the following poems, to give a correct translation.

I have news for you, O bold hero,

Cellachan asked his men what they should do. This is what they said, that they should not go into the town, but avenge themselves on the fields and great plains, and take the woman with them, as far as they went. When the Norsemen perceived this, they ordered those who were in the town to pursue them, both foot and horse. And Cellachan and his princes had not gone far, when the van of the Norsemen overtook them.

O descendant of Ailill Olom,
O king of Munster of the swift ships,
O Cellachan of the lovely cups.

If you come to Ath Cliath,
O king to whom the raven is truly grateful,
You will not come back again,
O king of Munster of the great forts.

They have made a cruel plot,
The children of Turgeis, south and north,
In Ath Cliath of the battle-hurdles,
With Donnchad of the princely countenance.

To kill you, he said meaningly,
The man from the house of the royal three (i. e. Tara),
And that he would come with you among the Foreigners,
From the hosts of your lands and your countries.

I heard the speech of my husband,
O man, for whom poems are made,
And the secret of the champion of white wrists,
O king of Munster of the great spears.«

Cellachan. »What is this? Who are you, O sweet-voiced woman,
O proud, beautiful maiden?
Who is your father, who is your husband?«
Said the king of Munster of the great spears.

31. Then Aed, the son of Domnall the descendant of Faelan, and Domnall the descendant of Niall of Magh Dachonn said: »We are here twenty men of the Deisi, and let us remain behind the rest and avenge ourselves, before the body of the host overtakes us.« And they stopped and slew twenty heroes of the Norsemen, and only five of them came back to their people alive.

32. Then Aed, son of Donnchad son of Caem, and Spelan, son of Suilleban, and Muirchertach son of Muirchertach, remained behind, and killed twenty men, and only three of them returned to their people alive.

33. Then Aengus, son of Assid, and Donnchad, son of Conchubar, and Fiangal son of Congal remained behind, and killed twenty men. But they were themselves slain there.

34. Then Cudub, son of Failbe, and Donnchad, son of Muirchertach, and Finn, son of Eterscel, remained behind, and they slew a multitude of the Lochlannachs, but were themselves slain.

35. Then an overwhelming number of the Norse champions pressed upon the champions of Munster. Cellachan and Donnchuan were captured by them, and brought to Ath Cliath. And when they reached the green of the town, Cellachan saw a man coming towards him, with a

»Mor is my name in each good town,
The daughter of Aed of fair cheeks,
Sitric is my husband in every battle,
The son of Turgeis of the mighty spoils.

I fell in love with your red face,
In Port Lairge on the battle-field,
With your valour as you charged through the battalions,
With your size among the Munstermen.

If you go eastwards on expedition,
O high-king, to whom I have given love,
You will get wound and woe,
We have not had, but sad stories to tell.

head in one hand and spoils in his other hand. And he asked Cellachan whose head it was. »That is the head of Aed, son of Donnchad son of Caem«, said Cellachan, »and the descendants of Echu will lament that head«, said he.

36. He saw another man coming towards him with a head in his hand. And he asked Cellachan, whose it was. »The head of Spelan, the son of Suilleban«, said Cellachan, »and the noble queens of Cashel will lament that head«.

37. He saw another man coming towards him, with a head in his hand, and he asked whose it was. »I regret to have brought the man to whom this head belongs with me«, said Cellachan, »even Aengus, the son of Assid, and the descendants of Carthinn Finn will lament that head.«

38. He saw another man coming towards him and he asked the same question of Cellachan. »That is the head of Aed son of Domnall the descendant of Faelan«, said he, »and this head will be lamented among the Deisi«.

39. Then he saw another man coming towards him, and he asked, whose was the head that was in his hand. »It is the head of Muirchertach, son of Muirchertach, and the women of Muscraige will lament that head.«

40. Then he saw another man coming towards him, and he asked him whose head this was. He said: »The head of Donnchad, son of Conchubar, is that, even the son of the king of Ciarraige Luachra, and the descendants of Cer will lament that head,« said Cellachan.

41. Then he saw three men coming towards him, with three heads in their hands, and they asked Cellachan, whose they were. »The heads of the three princes of Corcoduibne«, said he, «namely Cudub, son of Failbe, and Aed, son of Segda, and Fiangal, son of Congal, and the descendants of Corc, son of Cairbre, will lament those heads,« said Cellachan.

42. Then he saw another man coming towards him, and he asked him the same question. »This is the head of Donnchad, son of Muirchertach«, said he, »even the son of the king of the Eoganachts, and the descendants of Cairbre the Pict will lament that head. And that other

head is the head of Finn son of Eterscel, and the descendants of Lugaid will lament that head. But do not show them to me henceforward, for I cannot endure to look at them. And although I have not been wounded by you, I am killed through the wounds of yonder men. And it is a pity that I have not found death in their company.« And he recited lay:

»Alas for the heads without bodies«.[1])

[1]) The poem is found in full in $\frac{23}{H.\ 1.\ a.}$ p. 69 f., and in Egerton 106, p. 60 f., from which I print the following translation.

Alas for the heads without bodies,
For whom dark tears will be shed.
It was no folly, although the men were valiant,
The horsemen of the race of Eogan will fall.

Aed, son of Donnchad is without a head,
Alas for the blood upon his slender side!
The fair descendant of wound-dealing Ua Cathail,
Of the bright-weaponed champion of the rough spears.

The head of Suibhne you have brought with you,
O host of the Foreigners,
[The head of] the son of Suilleban, who reddens spears.
Alas for the descendant of Maelughra!

Sad to me the head with the braided hair
Of Muirchertach, son of Muirchertach,
That the fair and valiant one,
Is plainly in the power of the Lochlannachs.

I repent that he came with me,
the champion whom I see without head.
He was a gentle hero of a royal race,
Aengus the Young, son of Assid.

Then Sitric asked Cellachan, whether the Munstermen would ransom him. »What is the ransom«? said Cellachan. »A ransom, which they are not able to obtain, viz. for the fifteen battles which you gained over us an *eric* for each man who was slain in them, and for the twelve hundred men who were slain by Olchobar, the son of Cinaed, in the battle of Sciach Nechtain together

A head to whom women gave love,
The head of the brave son of the king of the Deisi.
His side is in sore stress from spears —
Aed, son of Domnall, the descendant of Faelan.

Fiangal, son of Conall of the raids,
The son of the chieftain of the high judgments,
the women of the Foreigners will be lamenting him,
although his head is exhibited in triumph.

There was many a theme of a good story
About Finn, the son of Eterscel.
Many were the men whom he attacked with spears,
He whose head is that in your hand.

Sad to me that his head should be exhibited,
The brave son of the king of Magh Coinchinn.
It was a success their fight with spear,
The brave man, Aed son of Ségda.

The head of Donnchad which you have brought with you,
O host of the Foreigners,
There will be darkness upon my eyes,
Because of the death of the son of Muirchertach.

Alas for the head opposite you,
Of Donnchad, son of Conchubar!
A more heroic in powerful slaughter there has not ben
Than the son of the king of Ciarraige Luachra.

with Thomar the earl, an *eric* for each man of them, and spoils for spoils. Cork, Limerick, Port Lairge and Cashel to be our fortresses, as they were in our possession before. A son of each king and of every chieftain in Munster to be given to us as pledges for this.« This is what Cellachan replied: »Let me and Donnchuan have

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A triumph for you is the slaying of the head
Of the brave son of the beautiful Ribardan.
Many were the graves from the hands of his father
Throughout Munster of the great fights.

Grievous to me the head in your hand,
The head of Spelan, the grandson of Suilleban,
No sadder to me the other head,
The head of Domnall, the descendant of yellow Niall.

Through the great number that has been exhibited to me,
Of the heads of the youths of Munster,
Though I am alive, it has been a torture to me,
I cannot enumerate them further.

If you keep me in fetters,
Since the riders of Munster are no more,
It is a pity that I did not find my death there,
Among the noble sons of the race of Eogan.

Let me be put to death,
And Donnchuan along with me.
Though it is a shame, my time has come to an and,
To the host of Munster it is sad.

'Tis a pity that Mór has not come with me,
The King's daughter of the Islands of the White Foreigners.
That I should be brought eastward,
'Tis not to you it is sad.

conference with Aistrechan son of Ailgisech in order that we may send him to tell these conditions, and let it be told us in what place you will be found, if they are obtained for you. »In Armagh«, said Sitric, »for it is thither you will be brought to be guarded.« They were allowed to hold a conference, and Cellachan told Aistrechan to relate these conditions to the men of Munster, and he recited the lay:

»Relate, o splendid Aistrechan [1]),
[To the men of Munster and to their wives
That their king is in Ath Cliath,
With Sitric of the hundred curved shields.

Sitric will carry with him over the sea
Eastwards to Lochlann of the dark ships
Their cups and their curved drinking-horns,
Their rings and their chess-boards.

Unless they bring everything to him,
Shields and ornamented swords,
To be carried by Sitric across the sea
For the sake of Cellachan of the pallisade.

The hostages of Munster, the tribute of her lands.
Shall come together to Ath Cliath,
A son of every chieftain and of every king
Throughout Munster of the great deeds.

Cork, and Limerick of ships,
and Port Lairge of full waves,
along with Cashel of the dykes
To Sitric the swift Norseman.

The battle of Sciach Nechtain valiantly
Famous Olchobar has gained,
wherein twelve hundred of the Norseman
were put to a swift death.

[1]) Only the first line of the poem is found in the Book of Lismore, the rest between brackets is translated from $\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$ p. 70—71.

Let them be brought to Sitric of the hosts,
Since he has perjured himself
To fulfil this henceforth
With Eric, king of the Islands (i. e. the Hebrides).

Donnchad in the fetters of the Foreigners,
the son of Cellachan of the handsome blades,
The hostages of Munster with him splendidly,
Both chieftain and strong king.

This is what he says to us,
The son of Turgeis with great fierceness,
Unless they give this now,
He will kill the high-king.

Relate, etc.]

46. And, O Aistrechan, say to the men of Munster not to give those gifts. But let them defend the territory of Munster, and let them make Cennedig son of Lorcan king, and tell them to remember the words they said the day I left Cashel, and let them defend us by the help of blades and armour. And say to the descendants of Corc to make a brave fight. Tell Donnchad son of Caem to come to seek us at Armagh. And let the descendants of Eogan come there before everybody, and let every chieftain bring the nobles of his territory and his land with him. Let Donnchad, son of Caem, son of Art, son of Cathal, come there at the head of the descendants of Echu. And let Maelfothartaigh, son of Flann, come. Let Suilleban, the son of Maelugra, come at the head of the descendants of Fingin. Let Donnchad, son of Duinechad son of Fiangus, come there together with Ribardan son of Assid, and Donnchad son of Domnall, and Donnchad son of Lorcan, and Domnall son of Cathal, and Eigirtach son of Cormac, and Cu-calma, son of Cennfaelad. Let Cuilen, son of Aindiarrad come, and let him bring the descendants of Failbe with him. Let Muirchertach son of Murchad come. Let Fogartach son of Fianamail come, and the nobles of Ui-Muiredhaigh along with him. Let Domnall, son of Diarmaid, and Fiana son of Feicine come there. Let Cuanachtach son

Eogan-mathair come there and bring the Eoganachts of East Clu with him. Let Anmchad, son of Dunchad, come there. Let Flannabra, son of Airindan son of Flannabra, come there and bring the Ui Conaill with him. Let Ceithernach, son of Céilechar son of Comán, come there. Let Cennfaelad, son of Dubdaboirenn, come there and bring the Ui-Cairbre with him. And he recited the lay:

Tell the descendants of Eogan,
The hospitable host,
That their high-king is being carried northwards,
Till he come to Lochlann of the good ships.

Tell all Eoghanachts,
Both king and nobleman,
that I am being carried by Sitric across the sea,
Eastward to Lochlann of the brown fleet.

Unless the hosts come hither
Northward at the end of one month,
Until they reach molodious Armagh,
They will not find us in Erin.

Let the descendants of Corc be assembled,
The Eoganachts of Cashel of the pleasant dykes,
Before they carry away over the sea
Their valiant triumphant king.

Let the descendants of warlike Eogan come
To seek their king with a great vow,
From the wave of Cliodhna of the heavy storms
To the river of the Two Kine.

Donnchad son of Caem of the roads of spoil,
the son of the highking of the noble young steeds,
Let him bring to the army without reproach
The descendants of generous valiant Echu.

Let Donnchad the Dun come there,
And Suilleban of the radiant eye,
Along with nimble Duinechán,
And Eigertach together with them.

Let sportive Ribardan come,
(And) his valiant, victorious host.
Let the people of the house of the king come
with you,
Four hundred noble men.

The race of Echu and of generous Fingin,
Let them all come together,
Let them come to the valiant host,
The descendants of Mac Caille and those of Liathan.

Let the Ui Conaill and the Ui Cairbre the fierce
Assemble the number of their host,
Let the Ui Cormaic come from the sea
In defence of Cellachan of the pallisade.

Proceed to fair Dun Bailc
Where are — — — artists of the lovely hair.
And bring with you from Loch Léin
The two Eoganachts with one will.

Tell from me brave Fergal
To make a strong valiant gathering,
before Cellachan is carried off
in ship eastward out of Erin.« [1])

46. »And when you have done speaking to the descendants of Eogan and mustering them in one place, proceed forward to the king of Dal Cais«, said Cellachan, »namely to Cennedig son of Lorcan, and tell him to remain and defend the territory of Munster, lest the Connaughtmen plunder it in battle. And tell the men of Uaithne and the men of Ormond to come to this gathering. Proceed

[1]) Only the first line of this poem is found in the Book of Lismor; the rest is translated from a paper-copy in the Royal Irish Academy.

to the people of Ely and tell them to remain defending the territory of Munster, and tell their lord, even Cerbhall, son of Dublaidh, son of Cennamhan, that we are brothers of Ailill (i. e. that we are closely related to the race of Ailill Olom). Proceed to the descendants of Connla, namely to the hosts of Ossory, and tell them to protect Munster from Bladhma southwards to the sea and to protect Ely as far as Bladhma, as it has always been done. Proceed to the hosts of the Deisi, and let them and the inhabitants of Muscraige come into this great hosting. And when you have finished addressing Cennedig and the descendants of Eogan, go for me to the chieftains of my fleet and bring them with you to Sruth-na-Maeile, and if I am carried away from Erin, let the men of Munster take their ships to follow me. For it is not more proper for the champions of Lochlann to show valour in contesting our country than it is for the soldiers of Munster to act bravely in defence of their own country and in revenging ourselves upon them. Go first to the three kings of Corcolaighde, to Flann, to Eiterscel, and to Cobthach, and to Dubdaboirenn, the king of Western Ui-Echach. Go to Seghdha, to Failbhe, and to Conghal, the three kings of Corcoduibhne. Go to Conchobar, the son of Bethach, the king of Ciarraige Luachra, to Domnall and to Baiscinn, the two kings of Corcobaiscinn, and to Conchobar and Lochlann, the two kings of Corcomruadh, and leth them bring with them ten ships from each cantred, for that is the full muster of our own fleet.

17. After this Aistrechan proceeded to Cashel, where the champions of Munster were, and he told them these news, namely that Cellachan and Donnchuan were captured, and that the 80 men who had accompained them were slain. They were sorrowful, heavy in mind and sad on that account, when they heard that Cellachan their noble king was captured and their young men slain. Aistrechan addressed them and related the admonitions Cellachan had given in his song, namely to redeem him by the power of blades, and armour, and broad shields, and not to allow Munster to be put into slavery or servitude by Danes or ignoble Norsemen. He told them

to remember the promise they had made the day Cellachan left them, and he told them that Cellachan was being carried to Armagh to be there in close custody. When Donnchad, the son of Caem, heard those words, he told the clan of Cormac Cas to form an alliance, and the descendants of Eogan to go in search of their king, and the clan of Cairbre to arise, and the clan of Lugaid to show full valour, and the descendants of Fergus to show true nobility, and the descendants of Cellachan to show devotion, and the descendants of Tadg to make a powerful defence, and the descendants of Fiachu Suigde muster in full. »Indeed«, said Donnchad, »if it were your brave men and your chieftains who were in the power of the Lochlannachs, Cellachan would collect an army in search of you and give battles to rescue you. For he has fought fifteen battles with the Danes in your defence, viz. the first of these battles at Limerick, the second battle at Corc, the third battle at Sliab Crot, the fourth at Thurles, the fifth at Cashel, the sixth at Port Lairge, the seventh at Muscraighe, the eighth at Ard Osraighe, the ninth at Glenn Corbraighe, the tenth at Senguala Cladard of Ui Conaill, the eleventh at Cromad, and four battles against the men of Leinster and Ossory. And all this will be concealed by the champions of Lochlann if Cellachan goes with them without being rescued.

48. Then they deliberated in council how to begin that hosting, and they settled to be a fortnight from that day at Magh Adhar, those of them who were on land, and those of them who were on sea to be at Bel Atha Laighin. Well, the day they had promised that their hosts should be at these places, they were there, as they had promised. This was the number that came to Magh Adhar, namely four battallions of equal size. And Cennedig, son of Lorcan, and the Dalcassian nobles also arrived there, and Cennedig entertained them that night.

49. When they arose the next morning, Cennedig said that he would go with them. Donnchad said that they would not let him go with them under any conditions. »For it is in search of your king and for his defence that we go, and we will not take *you* with us, but

remain and protect the country. »If that is so«, said Cennedig, »since I shall not myself go there, I shall send two thousand men with you, and I myself shall remain with the same number to defend Munster, and I shall send my three brothers with you.« He told a young nobleman of his people to go to seek his brothers, and he said to him: »Let Coscrach, and Lonngarcan, and Congalach come, with two-thousand men. Let Assid, son of Assid, come, and 500 of the descendants of Cairthenn along with him. Let Deghadh, son of Domnall, son of Donn, come and 500 of the men of Ely with him. And I know, said Cennedig, a thing which, I expect, will cause you to be defeated, namely that you have no king to lead you, who might give you counsel and contest the battlefield for you. And since there is none, let Donnchad, son of Caem, be made king by you, and if Cellachan is rescued, let his kingship be given to him. Cennedig put his hand in the hand of Donnchad in presence of the men of Munster, and they did so all after him.

50. Cennedig began to tell Donnchad to act bravely and to relate to him, how many kings there were of his family, who had obtained the kingship of Munster before him, namely Airtri, and Cathal, and Finguine, and Cathal, and Cu-gan-mathair, and Cathal, and Aed, and Flann, and Cairbre, and Crimthan, and Eochaid, and Aengus son of Natfraech, from whom the nobles branched off, so that from Aengus to Donnchad there were eleven kings, who obtained the kingship of Munster, and the length of their reigns was 52 years, and in order to verify this the historian has made the following song:

»Enjoy thy noble kingship«, etc.

51. After that they marched forward in their arranged battallions, and their fleet set out the same day. The place, where their host was that night, was in Ath-na-Righ. They went next morning to Sliab Cain, and set up huts and open sheds. But although the rain fell heavily, nobody was heard complaining, so great was their eagerness to reach the Lochlannachs.

52. They sent out foragers as far as the Muaidh, and spoils were collected by them to be brought to their camp.

While they were there, they saw a host coming towards them. Ten hundreds was their number. And they were arranged in the following way. One man was right in front of them. They asked, who he was, and who were the host. »A host of Munstermen«, answered he, »but the Munstermen do not know that they belong to them, namely the Dealbhna, the Gailinga, and the Luighne, of the descendants of Tadg, son of Cian. And there are three valiant chiefs leading them, viz. Aed son of Dualascach, and the Gailinga around him, and the Luighne around Diarmuid son of Finnachta, and the Dealbna around Donnchadh son of Maeldomnaill. And this is their number, five hundred with armour and five hundred without armour.« They encamped besides the Dalcassians, and they stayed there that night happily and peacefully.

53. They arose early the next morning, and crossed Esdara, and the bright little bridge of Matra, and the ancient streams of the Sligech, their right hand towards the windycold Ben Gulban. They crossed the Dubh and the Drobais, and crossed the verdant appleblossomed Magh Ene, and came to royal Ess Ruaid. They sent foragers eastwards across Ath Senadh, and collected the spoils of Crich Conaill from the east and brought them to their camp. Muirchertach son of Airnelach, the king of Cenel Conaill, pursued them and was demanding his spoils from them. Donnchadh replied that he would not restore them, before the host had been satisfied from them. »But we shall not take with us the least of our leavings; for it will not be a country without cattle to which we shall come.« Muirchertach however returned northwards before them, and sent messengers to Armagh to tell the Norsemen that they were approaching towards them, and to tell the children of Turgeis to bring Cellachan to Dundalk. When the children of Turgeis heard this, they left the town with the nine earls who had been around Cellachan when he was taken prisoner at Ath Cliath. But the Norsemen of the town itself remained there, namely Lulach, and Amlaibh, and Lagmann, and Turcaill, and Gilla Ciarain, son of Henruc the old king, and Oitir the Black. And their number was, 700 and an arranged battallion.

As to the men of Munster, they arrived at the southern side of Armagh. Donnchadh then told them to take their battle apparel, »and let four battallions of us attack the fortress. Let the Dal Cais, and the Gailinga, and the Dealbhna, and the Luighne approach Armagh from the west. Let the Ui Conaill, and the Ui Cairbre, and the Ui Meic Cailli, and the Ui Liathain go from the north into the town. Let the Deisi go to the southern side. I myself, and the Eoghanachts, i. e. the Eoghanachts of Cashel, and the Eoghanachts of Aine, and the Eoghanachts of Glennamain, and the Eoghanachts of Cliu, and the Eoghanachts of Durlus, and the Eoghanachts of Loch Lein, and the Eoghanachts of Rathlinn shall come to the eastern side. Let the battallion of the Muscraighe, the Uaithne the Fir Maige, and the Ui Cuanach remain stationary. For a battle without a check is not common. And we do not know whether we or a part of our people shall be routed, and if that should happen, they will know the way in which they may escape.« They did so, and marched forward to the town, as Donnchadh had instructed them.

55. As to the Danes of the fortress, they assembled in one place. Lagmann addressed the champions, and this is what he said: »We are not sufficient in number to cope with them, as they do not come from one side. But let us attack one battallion of them, and give battle to them. And if a part of them is routed, it is likely that they will be so all of them. That advice was adopted by them, and they arranged themselves into a glittering, deathbringing circle of combatants. Then they attacked the battallion nearest to them, namely the battallion of the Deisi. There was fought a hard, stubborn battle between them, so that soldiers were destroyed and champions wounded by them, and skins were lacerated. Nevertheless the nobles of the Norsemen fell, and the Norse heroes were forcibly driven from the battlefield northward through the centre of Armagh, until they met the battallion of the Ui Cairbre who came bending their standards and battleflags against them from the north, so that the Norsemen were turned westward in full derout, until the battallion of the Dal Cais

and the Gailinga, and the Dealbhna, and the Luighne met them, coming against them from the west, so that they were turned back eastward, quickly, perilously, and through sharp wounding, until the battallion of Clan Eoghan came against them, so that there was opened a brave, highspirited breach in the close phalanx like a very large court, and the Eoghanachts then dexterously carried out a firm, compact flank-movement round them, until they got the stream of those rough Lochlannachs into that passage and into that fold. Then the breach was eagerly and very strongly closed behind them, and the champions were slaughtered, so that they did not find any opening or escape from their kings, but fell like heavy, deadly thunder on that battle-field. It is then, that the van of the Eoghanachts destroyed the people (?) who escaped from them. When Donnchadh saw that the battallions were intermingled, he ordered them all to separate and to stop. They did so, and entered the town, and the town was in their power that night. But they got no news of Cellachan.

56. They arose next morning, and went to the battlefield, and collected the bodies of their people into one place, and the heads of the Lochlannachs, and they placed the heads upon spikes. Donnchadh son of Caem then asked if there was any Gael in the town from whom he might get news of Cellachan. A man in the town answered him, and said that his origin was from the clans of the Gael. Donnchadh asked who he was.

57. (He answered): »It is I who was chief prophet of Armagh, before the Lochlannachs arrived; but now I am doorkeeper here.« »Have you any news of the king of Munster?« said Donnchadh. »I have«, said he. »The night you were at Ess Ruaid, there came messengers from the king of Cenel Conaill to this town to tell news of you. And Cellachan and the ten earls who were around him, when he was captured, were removed to Dundalk, the place where their ships are.« »Let us march after them!« said Donnchadh, »for we shall not leave a Norse stronghold in Ireland which we shall not reach, in fulfilment of our word.«

They went forward in arranged battallions to Sliab Fuait and to Fid Conaill, and to Magh Murthemne and straight to Dundalk. But the Lochlannachs went away from them in their ships, and they themselves went to the seashore. And the ship that was next to them was the ship of Sitric son of Turgeis, and it was in that ship that Cellachan was. Donnchadh asked them if they might get Cellachan for a ransom. Sitric pledged his word that he should never be given up, unless they brought back to him all who were slain in the fifteen battles which Cellachan had fought, and all who were slain in the battle of Armagh. When Donnchadh heard this he began to reproach them, and he said that they had not captured Cellachan in battle or open fight, but by lying and open perjury. And he said that after this he would not trust any oath of the Norse. »Give honour to Cellachan in the presence of the men of Munster!« said Sitric, »let him even be bound to the mast! For he shall not be without pain in honour of them.« Thus it was done. »The women of Munster will lament this«, said Donnchadh, »and your own wife will lament it, O Sitric. And there is not among you a man to carry out that cruelty but has been spared by *his* sword and *his* fight.« Donnchuan the son of Cennetig was likewise lifted up in the ship of the son of the king of Fuarlochlann. But Donnchadh said, that he would rather prefer to have a fair fight with them, and he recited the lay:[1])

»O Sitric, who flees over the sea,
Stay to converse with us!
Since we cannot, O dark man,
Follow you out on the open sea.

You pledged your word in the south,
O Norseman of the azure blades,
To Cellachan of the fair hair,
That you would not destory him in Erin.

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[1]) Only the first line of the poem is translated from the Book of Lismore, the rest is translated from $\frac{23}{\text{H. I. a.}}$, p. 80 f.

You pledged a false word, O man,
That if the champion were destroyed by you,
Nobody after you should trust
The oath of a Norseman.

The women of Munster will lament,
If Cellachan comes to harm.
Their loud weeping will not be gentle,
From Uighne to the fort of Eochar-mag.

If Gormflaith of the white hands hears,
The daughter of Buadachan of the banquets,
Her outcry will not be gentle,
The good wife of Domnall, the descendant of
Faelan.

If the death of Cellachan of the sharp weapons
Is related to your own wife,
Mór of the soft eyes will lament him,
The daughter of the king of the Islands of the
Fair Foreigners.

Well has curly Cellachan deserved
Of you that you should not let him out!
Often with the feet of his ships
He has followed the Norse heroes.

There is not among you without death
A warrior, but has been spared by his sword,
Who has fled through cowardice without strength,
In dread or in panic from the high-king.

Every reward, which a man may choose,
The king of Cashel of the pleasant banquets has
given,
'Tis from the wealth of the Norse he gave it
To the host of Munster, O Sitric.«

59. Then Cellachan said: »It is not the revenge you will take upon me, that is to be lamented. For I give you my word that I feel more sorry that Cashel is without a

successor of the descendants of Eoghan than because I myself am in this torture. And my benediction upon the Dal Cais, as a reward because they have come to my help.« After this Cellachan lifted his head and said: »O Donnchadh, has a fleet set out with you?« »It has«, said Donnchadh. »I see them«, said Cellachan, and he said the lay.

60. »O Donnchadh, who darkens the spear,
Do not reproach the Norse heroes!
They have not destroyed us till now,
In fulfilment of their truth.

The word Sitric gave in the south,
It is that which is still helping us.
It is because of that I am taken eastwards
To be destroyed in Norway.

It is a greater sorrow upon my mind,
Than to be in great torture,
Not to be able to protect Cashel for you,
O noble descendants of the race of Eogan.

To me has ever been attributed
What you did both east and west.
To yourself it shall now be attributed.
Show bravery without me!

A king worthy of Cashel,
A match for the splendid Munsterman,
Shall help you out of every need: —
Let Cenneidigh be made king by you!

My benediction — the cause is true —
Upon the Dal Cais who excel the rest!
Bravely they have come hither
to fulfil their brotherhood.

You have come on a warlike hosting,
O valorous descendants of Eogan,

Through the province of Medb northward;
Great was the courage of the noble host.

When you crossed Assaroe,
There came messengers northward,
From Muirchertach — a great deed —,
From the high-king of Cenel Conaill.

Although we left Armagh,
We left there a full battalion
Of champions of Norse heroes
For the Gaels to destroy them.

Thanks to God that he has heard it,
O valorous host of Munster,
That the hue of every spear was reddened
Yesterday in the battle of Armagh.

It is sweet to see you to-day,
O valiant host of Munster,
Your travelled faces without stain
Upon the lawn of Dundalk.

I see what your champions do not see,
Since I am at the mast of the ship,
A fleet that will not flee to the sea;
It is a place of watching where I am.

Gentle royal nobles of Western Munster,
Beloved the fleet that has not been shown,
If they have set out from home,
It is they I see, O Donnchadh.

O Donnchadh, who
darkens the spear.«

61. Then the Munstermen raised their heads and lifted their noble eyes, and they saw the harbour being filled with ships and swift barks, and 'tis they who were there, the fleet of the men of Munster. Sitric asked who they were, and Donnchadh told their names. »It would be better for us«, said Sitric, »if we got to know which of those

wonder will undertake to check us in battle to-day, and who are the chiefs of those who are there.« Duinechad, son of Fiangus, said that if he got a boat to man and permission to go and to come, that he would go and get knowledge of these news on behalf of Sitric. He got what he asked.

62. Duinechad went to the place where the fleet was, and asked news of them, and told them news of the men of Munster at Armagh, and he related that Cellachan was in the ship of Sitric, bound to the mast. »But«, continued Duinechad, »you said, that when all your hosts were assembled you would have a sufficient number to give battle for us. And it would be a shame for you now to let your chieftain and your lord be taken away from you to the sea, since you have followed him to the waves.«

63. »We have given our word«, said they, »that if the Munstermen and the Norsemen were joined together, we would not let Cellachan be taken away by them without giving them battle.« »If that it so«, said Duinechad, »then tell me which of the Lochlann heroes you will choose to match yourselves against? And these are they: Lochlannach of the Blades, and the handsome (?) Lochlannach, and Old Amlaib, the three guardians of Cork.« »Let them be given to us«, said the three kings of Corcaduibne, namely Flann, and Cobthach, and Edirscel.« For it is to us that they have given cause after coming to Inis Clere, when they carried off our women and youths in captivity. And we have not overtaken them to avenge ourselves upon them, but we shall take them in hand to-day.« »Which of you«, said Duinechad, »will undertake to fight against Lenn-Turmun of the Journey?« »Let him be left to me«, said Dubdaboirenn, the king of Western Ui Echach, »for he has slain a good son of mine«, (viz. Aedh, the son of Dubdaboirenn). »Which of you«, said Duinechad, »will undertake to fight against the three sons of Turgeis, namely Sitric, and Tor and Magnus? And it is in their ship Cellachan is.« »Let them be left to us«, said Segda, and Failbe, and Congal, »for they went to Scelig Michil and devastated the country. But we shall take them in hand for our share to-day.«

64. »Another reason«, said Failbe, »is that we have given our word that there shall not be on sea or on land a place where we see them that we shall not reach to attack them.« »Which of you«, said Duinechad, »will engage the son of the king of Fair Lochlann?« »Let him be left to me«, said Conchubar, king of Ciarraige Luachra, »for he has burned Ard Fothaig Brenaind. But I shall avenge that upon him to-day.« »Who will engage in battle with Lenn Turmun na Pers (i. e. of the Berserks)?« said Duinechad. »Let him be left to me«, said Diarmaid and Baiscinn, the two kings of Corcobaiscinn. »For they have plundered Inis Cathaig, and we have not overtaken them before to-day.« »Who will engage in battle with the king of Cold Lochlann?« said Duinechad. »It is in his ship that Donnchuan is, and he bound fast.« »Let him be left to us«, said the two kings of Corcamruadh, »for they went to Arann, and it was plundered by them, and we shall avenge it upon them to-day.«

65. »How shall the ships recognise each another?« said Duinechad. »For the shields and ensigns you have are not those that are known to them.« »That is easy«, said Failbe the Fair, »for they know the situation of our territories belonging to our houses, namely Corcolaighdi furthest to the south, and the Ui Echach next to them. Corcoduibne next to them. Ciarraige next to them. Corcobaiscinn next to Ciarraige. Corcamruaid next to Corcobaiscinn. And let us arrange our fleet according to our lands, and let them come to meet us.« Duinechad [then] went to the Norse fleet, and related those answers to the children of Turgeis. »This has fallen out prettily«, said Sitric, »for these are the very opponents we have chosen.« Duinechad went ashore and told the Munstermen of these engagements. And the sagaman said the lay.

Relate, O Duinechad the Dun, [etc.] [1])
To us, who are they, the couples

[1]) The poem is found in full in $\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$, p. 80 f., whence I translate the whole.

Which they have chosen, the twelve chieftains
From western Munster of the great riches.

Name each brave Norseman
Whom every single man of them has chosen,
And each man of those whom they have taken
upon themselves.
Of the Norsmen in the quick fight!

Eiderscel yonder has chosen
From among you Lochlann of the blades.
Cobthach and Flann of Fál have promised
To beat off the other couple.

Failbhe [will go] against Sitric of the hosts,
Ségh[dh]a against redhaired Maghnus,
Conall against Tor over the wave,
The (?) Ciarraige against Fair Lochlann.

Conchobhar against noble Ilbrec,
The king of Ciarraige of the rough sword,
And the Corcobaiscinn from the wave
Against the Berserks of the two strong Tormuns.

[To fight with] the Cold Norsemen of the harbour
The two Corcamruadhs have undertaken.
These are, as we think manifest,
The full number of the engagements made.«

67. However, when those redarmed chiefs of Western Erinn, namely the powerful, very brave, noble clans, arrived from the whitebodied wave of Cliodhna in the south to the ever pleasant harbour of Traigh Baili in pursuit of their champion and their lord, and to fight for their heroic king and deliver him from the strait in which he was, when they saw him bound and fettered to the mast of the Norse ship, the senses, and feelings, and thoughts of the heroes underwent a change, their aspect became troubled, their colour changed, their looks became threatening, and their lips grew pale. And to defend Cellachan there was bravely arranged by the heroes a strong and

cunning, quick [i. e. quickly arranged] circle of ships, and a fortified city of helmets, and a firm fold of bows, and a manly, angry, venomous hedge of bright spears.

68. Then arose those truly heroic, broadweaponed Norsemen and the darkfaced, sullen, terrible Foreigners, and the base, lowborn Danes [who were] without any hereditary right to the truly beautiful island of Fodla, and without origin in, or relationship to Banba. There was arranged by them a dense fortress of dark shields, and an immovable oakwood of venomous and strong spears. But, however, when they had reached the warriors in their impetuous and headstrong course, their ships went bravely to the battle so that listening to the noble clans was like listening to the sound, which arises from a seashore full of stones trodden by teams, and herds, and cattle, horses and racing horsemen, and bright cavalry, as the bloody, sharp showers poured down, and their swords and javelins rang forth in cutting up cuirasses and splitting shields, breaking helmets and head-gear and each other's fair bodies around Cellachan.

69. Then the three fiercely active kings of Ui Luigdech, namely Flann, and Cobthach, and Eiderscel reached the southern angle of the brave hosts. They and the three guardians of Cork, namely Lochlannach of the blades, and the handsome (?) Lochlannach, and Old Amlaib, the senior of the army, went at each other and encountered each other in the battle. However, neither the great size of their shields, nor the excessive strength of their spears, nor the whistling shots of their arrows, nor the smiting of swords upon the heroes were of any use to the Norse heroes. For those chiefs leapt into the Norse ships and singled them out under the masts of the galleys till they met in the middle of each ship. And those six fell together along with their hosts, as the poet has said:

70. I am grieved for the fall of the chiefs
Of the children of Lugaidh of the bright shields,
From the southern part of Munster in the south,
By the host of Lochlann of the swift feats.

I grieve for the noble Eiderscel,
The brave, red-sworded hero,

Though through him by force was slain
The Norseman of the full-sharp blades.

I am sorry that Flann, the descendant of Lugaidh
of Luan (?),
Should be in famous Traigh Baile,
Though he cut off — without treachery — in the
battle
The head of the handsome (?) Lochlannach.

Sorrowful the fall of the son of great Mac Niadh,
Of the descendants of Ith of the noble host,
I grieve for Cobthach with the ruddy face,
The descendant of Lugaidh, a hero without deceit.

Ten ships and twenty in truth
Of the Clan Luigdech, with full force,
Of them did not reach home — it is known —
The crew of a ship of his garrison of heroes.
I am grieved.

71 Then the chief of Ui Echach, namely Dubdaboirenn, and Lenn-Turmun of the Journey met with their swift barques to fight and to smite each other like two dragons for cunning wounds or like two hawks for eager deeds. The army of the active, and famous clan of Cas leapt into the ships of the Norsemen so that they fell upon the rowbenches and strong oars of the mighty ships.

72 Then the three valiant champions, namely Segda, and Failbe, and Congal came up to the strong fleet of the sons of Turgeis, to Sitric, Tor, and Magnus. The Irishmen quickly flung tough ropes of hemp over the long prows of the Norse ships in order that they might not be separated from each other. The Norsemen then flung rough chains of blue iron over the stately prows of their vessels. There were arranged between the heroes smooth-shafted, sharp-pointed rows of long and stout, most venomous spears. Their helmsmen left off steering, and their crews arose with the oars around the splendid sides of their strong ships, and they raised a barbarous uproar against each other, so that the . . . .

and mighty onset of those fierce . . . . was a raging sea of . . . . .

73. Then the ship of the heroic Failbe was hurried up and rowed up to the battle-ship of Sitric, and Failbe made a high, and deerlike leap from the broad deck of his ship to the mast of [the ship of] Sitric. The royal champion unsheathed his two brisk, keen-edged blades, and he took one of the swords in his stout right hand encountering the champions of the ship, and the other sword in his heroic left cutting the ropes and fetters that were round Cellachan.

74. The nobles of Clan Corc [then] arranged an artfully weaponed, hard and keen-edged enclosure round the mast while the hero was cutting the long ropes, so that they left the battle-soldier in the centre of the ship between the champions. Failbe gave one of the two blades into the hand of Cellachan in the hard fight. But Cellachan began to smash the bones of the heroes along the sides of the noble ship, until he leapt into the ship of the heroic Failbe. But there was poured down a vehement and fierce shower of arrows upon the brave Failbe in the dark ship, as many are wont to overpower few.

75. When the furious Foreigners had slain and stripped that true hero, they struck off the brave man's head and raised it upon the prow of the ship. When the hard, impetuous troops and the sprightly young men of Munster saw that decapitation, the battle became more furious, and the fight closer with the brave hosts. Fiangal arose bravely, though every good hero had become weak, lowspirited and thinking of flight after the fall of his chieftain. He began to lament his lord and pledged his word that Sitric should not get back alive to the Lochlann hosts. For the hero was a fosterbrother of the gentle Failbe. But he was aware that his weapons would take no effect upon the mailclad veteran, and he thought it a pity that his lord should lay in the ship without revenge. And he said the lay:

»Do you grieve for the body of the Ua Conaire?«
etc.[1])

[1]) The poem is found in full in $\frac{23}{\text{H. L. ..}}$, p. 85, whence I transl..

Congal then made an eager, falconlike leap into the warship of Sitric and fixed his fair hands in the bosom of the Norseman's coat of mail, and dragged the Fair Lochlannach down into the sea so that they together reached the gravel and the sand of the sea, and rested there.

Then the two other valiant, redarmed chiefs of the same warlike clan, namely Seghda and noble Congal reached the two strong sons of Turgeis, namely Tor and Magnus. But the looks of the heroes were no faces of friends around ale, nor was it a maiden's love for her mate. But the champions sprang like lions from the massive

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Do you grieve for the body of Ua Conaire
Being in the Norse ship,
And his head upon its curved prow,
The descendant of Mugh of the beautiful, heroic
hands?

He did not deserve above all others.
Not to be followed [i. e. to be abandoned] — the
cause is true —,
If I myself could have been in the ship
Of Failbe, the man of the heavy, golden hair.

Cheerful and thoughtful before the hosts,
Was the champion of the great victories.
He was a generous giver in the banquetting-house,
The descendant of Aengus with great nobleness.

Fair Failbe! O fair Failbe!
He gave his life for my sake.
I grieve that he is left behind me
In the ship of Sitric, the son of Turgeis.

I shall not come alive southward
To the country of Munster of the great forts,
Unless he is left behind shamefully
The man whose handsome body has fallen.
The body.

ships, (or) like the violent indomitable waves over the long sides of the Norse ships. And the heroes left their own ships void and empty, while the Norse ships became full in their hold, and their sides leaned over. For the pouring in of the clan of Corc into their wombs was a terrible addition to the ships, and they [i. e. the ships] were full of Norsemen before; so that the ships did not wait for the fight of the heroes, but burst open to the salt sea, so that every barquee wass wamped with its troops. Hence the poet said these words:

»Great the courage of the noble soldiers«, etc.[1])

[1]) Only the first line of the poem is found in the Book of Lismore. The poem is found in full in $\frac{23}{H.\ 1.\ 8.}$, p. 86, from where I give a translation of it here below.

Great the courage of the noble soldiers,
Failbhe, Seaghda and fierce Conall,
Two of them of the blue-weaponed race of Conaire,
Men most brave at maiming bodies.

The leave their own ships empty,
Those soldiers — 'twas not a grievous thing —
So that they leapt into their ships,
Upon the chosen children of Turgeis.

Those strong and brave three
Made battle upon the foaming sea
To that they leapt — though difficult the feat —
upon the troop of the full-blue armour.

Too heavy for each hard ship
Were the crews of two ships — though it was a full disturbance —
And the sides of the barques tilted
For the Norsemen . . . . . of the fair sea-shores.

The sea sucks down — alas!
Each ship, each boat with hard swords,

Then the martial warships of Ciarraige and the furious angry crews of Fair Lochlann met, and they exchanged showers of arrows, and sudden fusilades of hard stones, and sharp showers of javelins, and skilfully directed, very stout spears. And they made a sudden, fierce attack, and a rough, hostile combat. Then Conchubar, the heroic king of Ciarraige, met the slaughtering Ilbrech, son of the king of Fair Lochlann. They fought very hard and eagerly, because the Ciarraige remembered the plundering of their country by the champion. They plied their spears with excessive eagerness, their battle-axes with powerful onslought, their swords with fierce fight, and their knives with furious, sudden assault. For the good ships were close to each another, and their weapons reached each other's breasts and bosoms, so that they fell together on this side and that in their ships. Conchubar however dragged Ilbrec by his head towards him, and struck off the head of the good champion, and exhibited it in triumph. But he fell himself on the neck of the soldier, and thus died. And to verify this the poet sang the lay:

Conchubar, valiant was the champion[1]),
The king of Ciarraige of the beautiful hair,
His fall — sorrowful is the deed —
By the people of the full-blue cuirasses.

They did not therefore abandon their strife,
The sons of Turgeis and of strong Cairbre.

Thus did my nimble heroes die,
On the sea — 'tis not a false tale —,
Seghda and Conall of the hosts,
Tor and active, great Magnus.

[1]) Only the first line of the poem is found in the Book of Lismore; the rest is translated from $\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$, p. 86.

His sprightly men did not abandon
The descendant of Fergus, the fair, bright man,
But they fell in the north on the sea,
By the steady host of Fair Lochlann.

Conchubar and glorious Ilbrec,
The son of the king of Lochlann — he was a
complete hero —,
The valiant heroes fought
In their full-great ships.

Wide were the wounds of men,
The handsome heads of heroes were cut off.
Their sides were quickly pierced,
Each nimble hero lost his strength.

He leaves that man upon his back,
The fairhaired son of the king of Fair Lochlann,
And cuts off his head without hindrance,
Conchubar the son of Mac Bethadh.

80. Then the descendants of Cairbre which are called Baiscne and the fleet of the Berserks met to attack each another. But they remembered their recent enmities and their hostility, and the noble hosts especially laid to the charge of the cruel fleet the violation of Senan and the plundering of Scattery Island. Diarmaid and Baiscenn skilfully streered their barque, they hurled their arrows and spears against each other, went upon their stout oars of strong ash, and dealt hard blows to each other.

80. However, this eager, indomitable couple, namely Diarmaid and Baiscenn, rushed in their fierce onset into the ship of the Norseman, and slew the champion in the very middle of his ship, viz. Lenn Turmun of the Berserks. Diarmaid fell in the black ship, but Baiscenn struck off the head of the fierce Norseman, and exhibited it in triumph, as the poet has said:

There fell in the hard battle
the descendants of red-sworded Cairbre,

and the battallion of the Berserks, though it was in vain,
All except Baiscenn of lasting victories (?).

81. Then the strong and vigorous descendants of Fergus and the far-plundering descendants of Corc reached the watchful Donnchuan. When they saw the hero as a bound and fettered captive, they ordered that the swift, big ship of Lochlann should be brought up to the one side of the Norse ship and the brownplanked ship of Conchubar to the other side of the high ship. This advice was adopted by the champions, and they leapt over the broad railings of the ship of the Norseman, and untied the hard fetters, and let down the ropes, so that the hero-champion, i. e. Donnchuan son of Ceinneidigh, was left free in the middle of the ship. But while the chiefs were removing the champion from the mast, the Lochlannachs of the ship slaughtered their people.

82. The champions became fiercely angry because of this, made a violent attack upon the sullen Lochlannachs, and dealt hard, dangerous blows upon the gloomy Lochlannachs, so that they cleft their shields, and cut their armour into pieces, and tore their targes. And the son of the king of Cold Lochlann fell with the flower of his people. While they were slaying the great Lochlannach, the Lochlannachs of the ship were harassing the rear of the brave champions. They then quickly and suddenly turned round upon the warriors and gave a hard, vehement onslaught on the champions, so that they did not stay in the ship before the heroes, but the champions of the ship leapt over the broad railings into the sea, where they were quickly drowned. But when they found no more Norsemen to slay in the ship, they raised the head of the son of the king of Cold Lochlann in triumph upon the prow of the galley. Conchubar came upon the bow of the ship, and the Norsemen . . . . . and they severed their bodies from their souls. Donnchuan began to lament, and he said:

»Valiant the triumphs of the fierce heroes«, etc.[1])

[1]) I have not been able to find more than the first line of this poem.

83. However, it was ebb-tide when the fleets met, and the broad waves of the flood-tide brought the ships of the Munstermen to land. But when the ships had reached land, the Munstermen went into them to join those who were left of their people. But when the Lochlannachs who were left perceived this, they went away in thirteen ships and left the harbour at once, and carried neither king nor chieftain with them.

84. Then Cellachan arrived in the ship of Failbe the Fair, but Failbe lay slain in it on his bed of gore. Cellachan was greatly lamenting him and said: »It is a loss to us that this man has fallen, and there will not be found a hero after him who will rescue his lord, as he did, for his sword gave a brave sound as he fought for me in the galley. And he said, lamenting Failbe:

»A loss to Munstermen is Failbe the Fair,
Who gave his life for my sake,
He sprang to bring it back
into the ship of Sitric, son of Turgeis.

There was a sword in his right hand,
And a sword in his nimble left,
So that he drove them into the sea,
Where the Norsemen perished.

By him my fetters were cut,
Though not with the consent of the men.
The sword which was in his left
the heroic king put into my hand.

I myself destroyed with the sword
All that were between me and the side of the ship,
Failbe fought in my rear,
So that I left the ship of the son of Turgeis.

Failbe was not slain alone,
Woe that he should have been in peril!

[He did not fall], until the ship was red of their
blood,
[of the blood] of his hosts and [of] the Norse
host.

Manly Fiangal leapt away from us
To avenge his lord.
He carried Sitric with him from his ship,
So that the son of the Lagmann's son was
drowned

A blessing upon the soul of Fiangal,
Though he died without fierce wounds,
If Sitric were not under the sea,
The drowning of Fiangal were a loss.

He was the darling of the maidens,
the descendant of Aengus, the fair bright man
He brought me out of their fetters,
He was the flower of our noble Munstermen.

He was the leader of our battalions,
He was the conqueror of every chieftain,
Our man of battle at every hour,
The descendant of red-weaponed Conall of great
deeds.

Failbe, king of Corcoduibhne,
He was a comely man at courtship,
He was the love of the women of Munster.
The gentle-worded descendant of Conaire.

I would have enjoyed to night,
Although I have sustained battle and great evil,

If Failbe were alive after him,
The drowning of Sitric son of Turgeis.

It is sad that Failbe of the comely hair
Should not return to the land of Cashel,

It would have been delightful to us in the south,
If he had come with us to be healed.

O Donnchad, and o Donnchuan!
Gather forthwith your hosts . . . .
. . . . . marching homewards,
Although we took . . . . . .
Failbe fair is a loss to the
Munstermen.«

86. The heroic Munstermen assembled their ships from the wide sea, and brought them to land, and Cellachan and Donnchuan were welcomed by the heroes. They began to lament their nobles, their chiefs, and their warriors. And Donnchadh son of Caem said the lay:

87. It is good for us, O gentle Cellachan,
O son of Buadachan of fair aspect,
That you have not gone over the full sea,
With Sitric, eastward over the bitter brine.

The Munstermen have delivered you,
O Cellachan of the blue blades,
It is they who made a bold march,
To Armagh of the great towers.

If they had not gone in their ships
Across the waters, across the heavy waves,
The chieftains of Western Munster,
Your hard fetters would have been long and
lasting.

There came six score ships,
To seek you with fierce resolve,
The men of (Corco) Laigde and Duibne across
the sea,
The Ciarraige and Corcobaiscinn.

The Ui Echach and the Corcamruadh
Came over the sea of cold waters,

Until they reached the beautiful Sruth na Maeile
To slay the bright-blue Foreigners.

They sprang upon the fierce battalions
Around the Height of red-haired Macha,
North, east, and south,
And west alike dexterously.

88. Then they brought the nobles of their people into the town to bury them. And they were greatly sorrowful and exhausted after the battle during that night: They arose early next morning in order to bury their people, and they carried the highest of their chieftains and the nobles of their people with them to the church on the northern side of Dundalk. Their chieftains were placed in four graves, and Donnchadh son of Caem came before them and began te relate their triumph. And he made the lay at the end of the story [i. e. which finishes our story].

89. Seven score ships on the sea
Came with the chieftains;
There escaped not without slaughter
But three score of their people.

Cobthach of the battles was slain,
Bloody Flann was slain,
. . . Eiderscel was drowned,
And his crew was slain.

Cobthach fell in the battle
Together with the Lochlannach Ladhach.
. . . . . a vast amount of gold
In Ath Cliath of the drinking-horns.

Eiderscel fell here
Together with the Lochlannach of the blades.
And bloody Flann fell
Together with Old Amlaib, the mighty dealer of wounds.

Dubdaboirenn, a brave man (?) (fell)
With Lenn-Turmun of the Journey,
When the earl was slain there,
Who was the strongest of the men of Lochlann.

Segda and Failbe were slain,
It was a cause of woe to us,
And wounded to death was fierce Conall
From the country of Munster of the great host.

They encountered them upon the sea,
Sitric with the Norse ship,
And Magnus, the strong tower,
And Tora of the sharp spear-points.

Magnus fall on the sea
And Segda of the shining armour,
Tora and Congal likewise,
Sitric and ever-active Failbe.

The hard Ciarraighe fought
With Fair Lochlann from the northern land,
When noble Conchobar fell
Together with the king of Fair Lochlann of the drooping hair.

Corcobaiscinn, the expert troop, [fought]
Against Lenn-Turmun of the city of the Berserks,
When there fell together upon the sea
The Berserks and Corcobaiscinn.

There met in the harbour,
Cold Lochlann and Corcamruadh,
Until they had slain each other
On the sea full readily.

Then the flood-tide brought to land
Some of their ships with full force.
In them the Munstermen went out
Upon the sea full of ships.

After Cellachan had gone on board
To the people of Failbe of the dark weapons,
When he had arrived at the battle-place,
They did not dare to encounter the chieftain's son.

The Norsemen went away
From the prows of their shining ships.
There did not come on the journey
But only six out of seven.

90. When their people had arrived at one place, they collected their own ships and the ships of the Lochlannachs, and burned them all, and they (also) burned the town. Some of them were saying that they ought to decide which way they would take, and some of them were asking where they should go to reach their own country. »The way right to the south«, said some of them. »Not so«, said Cellachan and Donnchadh son of Caem, »but let us proceed to Ath Cliath, where the sons, and women, and people of the Lochlannachs are, and the woman for the sake of whom Cellachan was captured and our men were slain, even Mor, the daughter of Aedh son of Echu«. And he made the lay:

91. »Make a valiant resolution,
O handsome, active heroes,
Which way you will go to the south
Into the country of Munster of the great forts.

If you go across the plain of Cruachan,
You will meet a fierce, overwhelming contest;
They will not let you reach your home
Without battle and hard fight.

If you cross the plain of Meath,
O host whose valour is all-sufficient,
You will find on the way to the east,
Donnchadh and the Lochlannachs.

We shall proceed through the plain of Meath,
For 'tis there is the hostile tribe,

Until we reach — though it be a hard task —
South to Munster the red maned.

Proceed ye to Ath Cliath.
To Meath it shall be great sorrow.
Though its aspect is fair to-day,
There shall be forts there under black smoke.
Make a valiant resolution.

92. Then the men of Munster set out on their way, and journey, and expedition orderly, bravely, and prudently. They plundered each territory, and burned each fortress and town that they met on their straight way from Dundalk to Ath Cliath. There came a message before them to the royal town, and it was told to the women of the Norsemen that their husbands were slain, and that Cellachan was taken from them by force.

93. Then the wife of Tora, son of Turgeis, namely Mor, the daughter of Donnchadh, said: »I know«, said she, »a plot that will result in the death of Cellachan and in the destruction of the Munstermen: Let us even go to the summerhouse where Mor, the daughter of Aedh, son of Echu, is, the woman, who loves Cellachan, and tell her that Cellachan has perished, and that the Munstermen are slain, and she will die from grief for Cellachan, and he himself will die from grief for her, and the Munstermen will be routed, when he has died.« »Let this be done«, said the women, and they told the young woman these tidings. »It is not true for you, O women,« said Mor, »and it would be better for you if that story were true. And it is certain that Cellachan would die, if I should die. But I get news of him every night in my bed, and yet I am not his wife«, said the woman.

94. Then the van of the Munster army reached the town, and they collected the cows and cattle-droves of the town, and its gold, and silver, and many riches, and brought the women and young men of the town together. Mor, daughter of Aedh, son of Echu, and Bebinn, the daughter of Turgeis, were brought to Cellachan, who said to Donnchuan, son of Cennedig, that he should take Bebinn to his wife. And so it was done by them, and

each man of them likewise had his choice of women afterwards. They spent a week in arranging this. And as they went away they burned the town.

95. They proceeded forward to the eastern point of the plain of Almhuin. And as they were there, they saw five battalions drawn up in the middle of the plain with choice shields, and swords, and coats of mail, and with shining spears, and targets, and helmets. And he who was there was Murchadh, son of Finn, king of Leinster, and his three brothers, Donnchadh, Finn, and Aedh, and Conghal, son of Laigsech, king of Leix of Leinster, and Donnchadh, son of Aedh, king of Fotharta of Leinster, and Muirchertach, son of Tuathal, king of Ui Mail, and Conchubar, son of Donnchad, king of Ui Failghe, and Bran Berba, son of Amalghadh, king of Omagh and of Ui Mairgi.

96. When the king of Leinster saw the Munster army coming towards him, he said to a priest of his people: »Arise«, said he, »and go to the men of Munster, and demand hostages for me from them, and those hostages shall be Cellachan and Donncuan, and tell them that I shall not accept other hostages, but those two, or else let us fight on the mountain.« The priest proceeded to the place where the Munstermen were, and delivered his message to them.

97. Anger and rage arose in the champions of Munster at those big words. Donnchadh, son of Caem, said: » . . . . . our march, and it will not be easy to save (?) . . . . . and for destroying nobles and chieftains . . . . . in fighting for those two, if we gave them to them. And tell them that we would not give to them the worst gillie in this host to avoi l battle.«

98. Then Donnchadh said: »I wish to ask a boon from you, O men of Munster, namely to let me be in the front of the battle and have what is left of the descendants of Eoghan here, and that Cellachan shall not go into battle.« That was granted to him. And Cellachan said: »Since I am not myself permitted to come into the battle, avenge ye Cormac, the son of Cuilennan, well upon the men of Leinster; for there are two years and a half, and two score years without revenge. And for every cleric who

was slain there they offered but one cow«. And he recited the lay:

»Send against Leinster of the graves!« etc.

99. Then the noble, valiant descendants of Eoghan arose, and arranged themselves into a furious, steady, brave battalion of champions.[1])

100. However, when all the fierce Lochlannachs were drowned, and when the noble lords of Munster had fallen, Cellachan went on land, and the minds and spirits of the high chieftains rejoiced before him. Cellachan sent people to burn the bulk of the fleet which had not gone down in the salt sea. And the resolution the champions came to, was to attack the king of Cenel Conaill, for it was he who had sent messengers (as we have told before) to Armagh to the Lochlannachs, to tell them to bring Cellachan to Dundalk. Muirchertach did not show himself before them, although they raided and plundered the whole country. After that they came to Tara, and sent messengers to proclaim battle against Donnchadh, son of Flann Sinna, king of Erin, for he had previously permitted that Cellachan was taken prisoner in Ath Cliath. Donnchadh refused to fight with them, and when he had refused, they plundered the territory of Tara. After this they came to Cashel in Munster, and the territories were divided suitably by Cellachan among the nobles. And thenceforward they spent the time peacefully and tranquilly, until Cellachan of Cashel, the son of Buadachan, died a laudable death at Cashel Anno Domini 952.

[1]) Here the story ends abruptly. The last chapter is translated from the paper manuscript $\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. 8.}}$ in the Royal Irish Academy, p. 87—88.

Notes.

§ 1. Cogadh Gaedhel also says that the reign of Airtri, son of Cathal, fixes the era of the Viking invasions. The portion of this work which is preserved in the Book of Leinster begins[1]: »There was great oppression on the men of Erin, throughout its breadth, from Lochlannachs and from fierce, hardhearted Danars, during a lengthened period and a long time, viz. for eight score and ten years. Or, two hundred years, according to some, i. e. from Airtri to Brian, son of Cennedig, in Cashel; [and] from the time of Aedh, son of Niall Frossach, in Tara, that is, sixteen kings during that time in Cashel, but twelve kings in Tara during the same time.«

According to Dr. Todd, Airtri, son of Cathal, seems to have reigned from A. D. 800 to 820[2]). — All the authorities give twenty years as the length of his reign. — But this calculation is far from being satisfactory, as according to other authorities, his father Cathal died about A. D. 743. In his »Book of Pedigrees« (Leabhar Genealach), the antiquary Duald Mac Firbis fixes the reign of Aedh Oirdnidhe, son of Niall Frassach, at the beginning of the Viking invasions. This king is said to have begun his reign in the year 797.

The invasions of Ireland seem actually to have begun in the year 795. In this year the Vikings burned the Island of Rechru (now Lambay island, north of Dublin), and pillaged

[1]) Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh (The Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill), ed. Todd, p. 221.

[2]) Cogadh Gaedhel, p. 242.

[3]) Cogadh, p. XXXII.

and devastated the Isle of Skye, in Scotland.[1]) These Vikings, probably Norwegians, were most likely identical with those who during the same year pillaged Glamorganshire in southern Wales.[2])

§ 2. Cogadh Gaedhel has also (chap. II) a list of the kings of Munster, from Airtri to Brian Borumha, the hero of the saga, but does not give the length of their reigns. The list from Airtri to Cellachan is, as follows: »Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Finguine; and Feidlimid, son of Crimthann; Olchobar, son of Cinaed; Ailgenan, son of Dungal; Maelguala, son of Dungal; Cennfaelad, son of Murchad[3]); Donnchad, son of Dubdaboirenn; Dublachtna, son of Maelguala; Finguine, son of Laegaire (surnamed) Cenngegain; Cormac, son of Cuilennan; Flaithbertach, son of Inmhainen; Lorcan, son of Connligan; Cellachan son of Buadachan.« The list of the names is omitted in the Book of Leinster, and is therefore, according to Dr. Todd, probably an interpolation. If so, it has probably been taken from a more ancient copy of the saga of Cellachan of Cashel. — The Book of Leinster copy only says that from Airtri to Brian, son of Cennedig, there were sixteen kings of Cashel, while the Dublin MS. gives the names of eighteen kings. —

Feidlimid, son of Crimhthan, seems to have been a profligate. He usurped the abbacy of Armagh, where he remained a whole year, during which he preached to the people every Sunday. In 846 he plundered the lands belonging to the monostery of Clonmacnois. The next year he died of a disease which was supposed to have been miraculously inflicted by St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois himself, in punishment of his sacrilege. Other authorities also tell that he reigned 27 years, aud that he was one of the five kings of Munster who obtained the monarchy of all Ireland, subsequently to the introduction of Christianity.[4])

Scé[5]) (later: *Sciach*) *Nechtain* was a place near Castle-Dermot, county of Kildare. This battle, which took place A. D. 847 or 848, is also mentioned in Cogadh Gaedhel (p.

[1]) Annals of Ulster, A. D. 794 (= 795).
[2]) Annals Cambriæ. Steenstrup, Normannerne II, p. 12.
[3]) The Saga of Cellachan has: Mochtigern.
[4]) Book of Rights, ed. O' Donovan, p. XVI; Cogadh, p. XLV f.
[5]) *Scé* means »a thornbush«.

» : Olchobar, son of Cinaedh, king of Cashel, and Lorcan, son of Cellach, king of Leinster, defeated them (i. e. the Norsemen) in the battle of Sciath Nechtain, where the heir of the king of Lochlann fell, and twelve hundred of the nobles of Lochlann along with him.« According to the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of the Four Masters, the name of this chieftain was *Tomrar*, *Tomhrair*. Chronicum Scotorum (A. D. 848) calls him *Tomrair Iarla Tanaissi Righ Lochlann* (Tomrair the Earl, tanist of the king of Lochlann). *Tomrair* is the Irish form of the Norwegian and Icelandic name *þórir*, a derivation of the name of the god *Þórr*, which name originally has had a nasal before the *r*. *Tomrair* therefore represents an older form of the name than *þórir*. *Tómar* is a more corrupt form. The same name also occurs in this saga in the forms *Tōr*, and *Tora*. Maelguala, son of Dungaile, was killed in the year 959, his back being broken by a stone.[1])

Chronicum Scotorum (A. D. 902) has: *Findguine Rí Caisil a suis occisus est.*

§ 2, l. 13, *fleghi*, leg. *fledhe*.

Cormac, son of Cuilennan, is the famous king, bishop, and scholar, who has written a still existing glossary. According to Chronicum Scotorum, he was killed A. D. 907 (908) in the Battle of *Belach Mugna*, i. e. Mugain's Road, now Ballaghmoon, in the south of the county of Kildare, about two miles and a half north of the town of Carlow.[2]) Other Authorities (e. g. the list of Munster-kings in the Book of Leinster) call the place of this battle *Mag Ailbe*.[3]) As professor Kuno Meyer points out to me, the Three Fragments (p. 204) mention *Droichet Leithglinne* »the Bridge of Leithglenn« and *Leithglenn* (now Leighlin) as places in the neighbourhood of the battlefield. *Cath Leithlinde* is therefore probably an erroneous form of *cath Leithglinde*.

Lorcan, son of Connligan, began to reign A. D. 922.[4])

§ 3. The story of the Norsemen's oppression of Ireland is told in nearly the same words in Cogadh Gaedhel and by Duald Mac Firbis. Cogadh Gaedhel (pp. 48

[1]) Cogadh, p. 23, introduction p. LXXI.
[2]) Four Masters, p. 564.
[3]) Cogadh, p. 238.
[4]) Cogadh, p. XCIII n.

—51) says: »And such was the oppressiveness of the tribute and rent of the foreigners over all Erin at large, and generally, that there was a king from them over every territory, and a chief over every chieftainry (or better: »cantred«), and an abbot over every church, and a steward over every village, and a billetted soldier in every house, so that none of the men of Erin had power to give even the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of one hen in succour or in kindness to an aged man, or to a friend, but [was forced] to preserve them for the foreign steward, or bailiff, or soldier. And though there were but one milk-giving cow in the house, she durst not be milked for an infant one night old, nor for a sick person, but must be kept for the steward, or bailiff, or soldier of the Foreigners. And, however long he might be absent from the house, his share or his supply must not be lessened, although there was in the house but one cow, it must be killed for the meal of one night, if the means of supply could not be otherwise procured. And the most fit person of the family was obliged to take wages, the day on which he embarked on board ship with his lord, [and] he must be supplied with provision, as if he was at home. An ounce of silver or Findruine (i. e. white bronze) for every nose, besides the royal tribute afterwards every year, and he who had not the means of paying it, was himself compelled to go into slavery, or else his nose was cut off.«

In a portion of Duald Mac Firbis's celebrated »Book of Pedigrees«,[1]) called »On the Fomorians and Lochlannachs« (*Do Fhomorchuibh agus do Lochlannachuibh*), there is a similar description: »The Foreigners appointed a king over every cantred, an abbot over every church, a steward over every village, a billetted soldier in every house, so that no Irishman had in his power from the brood of a hen to the first milking-cow, so that they did not dare to show devotion or care to father or to mother, to a bishop, or to an ollav, or to a confessor, or to people who were ill or afflicted, or to an infant one night old. Although an Irishman had but one cow, he was forced to give the soup of her to the soldier,

[1]) The original MS. is in the possession of Lord Roden, and is not accessible. A copy made by the late E. O' Curry, is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

the night when they could not get milk from her, and an ounce of gold, or of silver, or of findruine, as the royal rent every year: and the man who had not the means [of paying it] was himself to go into slavery, or his nose was cut off.«

The memory of the oppression of the Norsemen has even been preserved in tales from the 18th century, where the Norsemen, however, have been displaced by the mythical Fomorians.[1]) A version of the story of the »Fate of the Children of Turenn«, translated by Dr. Joyce in his »Celtic Romances« (pp. 34—60), tells: »When the Dedannans held sway in Erin, a prosperous freeborn king ruled over them, whose name was Nuada of the Silver Hand.

In the time of this king, the Fomorians from Lochlann, in the north, oppressed the Dedannans,[2]) and forced them to pay heavy tributes, namely, a tax on kneading-troughs, a tax on querns, and a tax on baking-flags; and besides all this, an ounce of gold for each man of the Dedannans. The tribute had to be paid every year at the Hill of Usna; and if any one refuced or neglected to pay his part, *his nose was cut off* by the Fomorian tyrants: . . . . . For the whole Dedannan race stod in great dread of these Fomorian tax-collectors; so much that no man even dared to chastise his own son without first seeking their consent.«[3])

»Cogadh Gaedhel«, »The Book of Pedigrees«, and the Fomorian tale contain one interesting passage which is not found in our saga: »An ounce of silver or Findruine for every nose besides the royal tribute afterwards every year; and he who had not the means of paying it . . . . . his nose was cut off.« This tax which was exacted from »every nose« is the so called *nefgildi* (a tax of every nose — *nef* —, i. e. a poll-tax), which is said to have been introduced into Norway by king Harald Haarfagre (i. e. the fair-haired), and to have been paid in olden times by the Swedes to the

[1]) The Fomorians were giants and pirates.

[2]) The Dedannans or Tuatha de Dannan were a mythical race who are said once to have ruled in Erin.

[3]) Cf. A. Bugge, Contributions to the Histgry of the Norsemen in Ireland, II pp. 15—16. In Heimskringla there is a story of Svein Alfivason's oppression of Norway after the death of St. Olaf which bears a striking resemblance to the Fomorian tale (Saga Ólafs hins helga, ch. 253).

temple of Upsala.[1]) The so called »Book of Rights« (*Leabhar na g-Ceart*) mentiones this tax as introduced by the Norsemen into the kingdom of Dublin (p. 229):

> »Hereupon the host brought to him (i. e. to St. Patrick)
> A screpall[2]) for each man, an ounce of gold, —
> An ounce for each nose besides. —
> And a screpall of gold for each man.«

§ 4. Cellachan is in the Annals usually called »Cellachan of Cashel« (*Cellachan Caisil*), probably not because of his being king of Cashel, the official title of the kings of Munster, but because he conquered Cashel from the Danes. The first time he is mentioned is in Chronicum Scotorum, in the year 935 (i. e. 936), when he and his men plundered Clonmacnois. This plundering is also mentioned in the Four Masters (A. D. 934). According to the list in our saga, Cellachan must have begun his reign in the year 926 or 927. According to the Book of Leinster, however, his predecessor Lorcan reigned 7 years, in consequence of which Cellachan must have begun his reign A. D. 934, which is probably the right date. According to the same authority, Cellachan's reign lasted ten years. Cellachan's father, Buadachan, was not king of Munster, but belonged to the royal race of the Eoganachts. He was not married to the mother of Cellachan. For a pedigree of Cellachan of Cashel, see The Battle of Magh Rath, ed. O' Donovan (the Geneological Table).

There is a close resemblance between the early career of Cellachan and that of Brian Borumha. When Mathgamhain, the brother of Brian, had made a truce with the Norsemen, Brian was unwilling to make peace, but »went back again to the forests, woods and deserts of north Munster with the nobles of the Dal Cais.«[4]) The Anglo-Saxon king Alfred the great also sustained similar tribulations. »Mit wenigen Aethelingen, Dienstmannen und Kriegern, unter denen wir Aethelnoth, den Ealdorman der Sumorsäten, kennen, brachte

[1]) Ynglinga Saga, ch. 8.

[2]) The *screpall* (= lat. *scripulum*) weighed twenty or twenty four grains of wheat, and was of the value of three pence.

[3]) Cogadh, p. 238.

[4]) Cogadh, p. 61.

der König, von seinem Volke verlassen und getrennt, in den Wäldern und Marschen Somersets mehrere Wintermonate gleich einem Flüchtlinge zu. Der Unterhalt der seinigen musste mit List oder Gewalt den Heiden oder den denselben untergebnen Christen entwandt werden.« [1]) — This was about the year 878. I do not know, whether this coincidence is accidental or caused by litterary influence.

§ 5. *Caisel*, now Cashel, in the county of Tipperary, was once the capital of Munster, and the chief residence of its kings. The word *caisel* signifies a circular stone fort, and is probably a derivation of the Latin *castellum*. The city of Cashel was at this time in the possession of the Norsemen.

Glenndamain is in the next chapter written *Glennamain* (gen. *Glennamnach*), which is probably the right form of the name. — *Glennamhain* is derived from *abhainn* abounding in rivers«, and signefies »the watery or marshy glen«. [2]) The place is now called Glanworth, and is situated in the barony of Fermoy, in the county of Cork. I should think that in Munster there has also been another Glennamain, near Cashel, since our Place is called »Glennamain of Cashel«. In the barony of Coshmore and Coshbride, in the county of Waterford, there is a valley called *Glenn-Damhain* »the valley of the young bull« [3]); but this is probably not the place mentioned in our saga.

Cennédig, son of Lorcan, was the head of the Dal Cais; to his race belonged the hereditary kingship of Thomond, in northern Munster (the County of Clare). Cennedig had three sons, Donnchuan who is also mentioned in our saga, Mathgamhain, king of Munster (murdered A. D. 976), and the famous Brian Borumha, who fell in the battle of Clontarf 1014. In our saga (§ 26) it is said, that »the tanistship of Munster, and its kingdom after Cellachan« was given to Cennedig. He was in other words »heir apparent of Cashel«, as he is called in Cogadh Gaedhel. According to Cogadh Gaedhel (pp. 42—45), he was slain in the year 949.

The Eoganachts of Cashel, as well as the Dal Cais, both descended from Ailill Olom, the first of the family of

[1]) Lappenberg, Geschichte von England, I p. 318.
[2]) Joyce, Irish Names of Places, 4th ed., p. 455.
[3]) Four Masters, p. 657 n. (A. D. 945).

Heber, son of Milesius, who found himself in undisputed possession of the throne of Munster. Ailill Olom had two sons, Eogan Mór and Cormac Cas. Eogan Mór was the ancestor of the Eoganachts, and Cormac Cas the ancestor of the Dal Cais. The pedigree of Cellachan is given in the fourth chapter of our saga.

The name of *Dál Cais* (i. e. the race of Cas) is usually derived from Cormac Cas, the son of Ailill Olom. Dr. Todd, on the other hand, thinks that the name is derived from Cas mac Tail, grandson of Lugaid Menn, King of Thomond.[1]) I do not think that he is right. At any rate, it seems to me as if the author of our saga thinks that the name is derived from Cormac Cas.

It is well known that the Eoganachts of Cashel and the Dal Cais had »an alternate right to Cashel«, that is, the kings of Cashel were to be chosen in alternate succession by the descendantants of Eogan Mór and Cormac Cas. This was according to the will of Ailill Olom, and probably not, as we might conclude from the verse in the next chapter, according to the arrangement of Fiacha Muillethan and Cormac Cas. This arrangement proved a perpetual source of discord, and was very seldom regularly observed. It did not exclude the right of the tribe to elect the king. But he could only be elected among those who were entitled to the throne by hereditary descent. And besides, the king ought, as we see from our saga, to be the senior of the candidates, and »the best in knowledge, true learning, and princely honour.«[2]) Nowhere, it seems to me, do we get such a clear description of the Irish way of electing a king as in our saga.

Donnchad was the son of Cathal, son of Caem, and a descendant of Eochaid, king of Munster (d. 523); see »The Battle of Magh Rath« (Genealogical Table). This is the reason, why he is called *caem-Donnchad.*

§ 6. *Fiacha Muillethan* (i. e. »the flat-headed«) was the son of Eogan Mór, and king of Munster A. D. 260.

Ocus facbhais Donnchad in duma, »And Donnchadh left the mound«. This shows that the assembly (*comhdháil*), where Cellachan was elected king, was held on a mound (*dumha*). This meeting of all the seventeen tribes of Munster was a

[1]) Cogadh, pp. CVI f.

[2]) Cf. Book of Right, p. 72 n.; Cogadh, pp. CVI—CVIII and 235 f.

regular popular assembly, like the Scandinavian *þing* which used to be held on a hill (cf. Tynwald Hill on the Isle of Man), and corresponding to the popular assemblies (*concilium*) of the Germans, described by Tacitus in his »Germania«. All the Arian peoples have probably once known this kind of meetings where all the free-born men of the tribe gathered, decided about war or peace, elected their chieftains etc. But there is an especially close resemblance between the popular assemblies of the Celts and those of the Germans and Latins. As Müllenhoff says in his notes to ch. 12 of »Germania«, (Deutsche Altertumskunde 4, p. 254): »Wir stehen hier af dem boden der urverfassung und diese übereinstimmung mit der organisation bei Latinern und Kelten würde schon die von Tacitus für die Germanen bezeugte tatsache gegen jeden zweifel sicher stellen, wenn auch sonst keine stützen dafür vorhanden wären«.

§ 7. *tucsad a ghairm rig* »they set up his shout of king«, i. e. they proclaimed him king; — *gairm* signifies »a shout, proclamation, calling, name«. — The ancient Norwegians proclaimed their kings in the same way. See Snorre's description of the folk-moot where king Hakon the good was proclained king (A. D. 935): *At þessu erendi varð rómr svá mikill, at allr bondamugrinn æpti ok kallaði, at þeir vildu hann til konungs taka, ok svá var gert, at Þrændir tóku Hákon til konungs um alt landit.*[1])

Suilleaban was a son of Maelugra (cf. § 19), and the ancestor of the O' Sullivans. His ancestor was Fingin, king of Desmond (d. 619), a descendant of Ailill Olom. That is the reason why his tribe is called *cenél Fingin* (i. e. the race of Fingin).

Professor Kuno Meyer writes to me about Ribordan: The name *Ribordan* is very interesting. The correct form is *Rígbardán*, from *rig-bard* »royal-bard«. In our saga he is called *R. na rann* »of the poems«, and *rebach* »sportive«. Professor Meyer tells me that in »Irische Texte« (III p. 103) there is a quatrain about a king of the name *Rígbardán*:

Rí Éle cuin teit immach slúaigedach
ní thora ammuig is é slán Rigbardán.
»When the king of Ely with his hosts marches abroad,
Rigbardan will not come home unscathed.«

[1]) Heimskr., Saga Hákonar góða, ch. 1.

I do not think, however, that this quatrain refers to our Rígbardán, but to Rígbardán, son of Cucoirne, king of Ely, who was slain in the battle of Sliab Crot, A. D. 1056.[1] The name seldom occurs in the Annals; Rigbardan, son of Dubcron, died A. D. 1000 (Four Masters).

§ 8. The city of Limerick (*Luimnech*) was at the time of Cellachan in the power of the Norsemen. According to Dr. Steenstrup (Normannerne III, pp. 128—132), it was in the beginning of the 10th century that Limerick became a viking-settlement. The town soon gained a considerable power, and was the rival even of Dublin. In our saga, Amlaib of Limerick is represented as the lord of Limerick. — *Amlaib* is = O. N. *Ólafr*, which name has originally contained a nasal before the *l* (*Anlaf*).. — There is some confusion as to the chiefs or kings of Limerick. At some periods, the town seems to have had more than one chieftain. From A. D. 933 to 937 *Amlaib Cenncairech* (Olaf Scabby-head) is mentioned by the Four Masters and by the Ulster Annals as the lord of Limerick. He plundered in Roscommon, and in the north-eastern parts of Ireland. On Christmas-eve 936 he reached the Shannon, where he and his men stayed for 7 months. But on Lammasday 937, he was captured at Loch Ree by Amlaib, son of Godfrey, lord of Dublin, and carried off to Dublin.[2] — The Norsemen of Dublin were preparing an expedition to England. — In the year 968 Amlaib, son of Amlaib, is mentioned as one of the lords of Limerick. He and Ivar of Limerick were banished by Mathgamhain, and Amlaib was »killed by the king of Britain« the year after.[3] We see from this that Amlaib was a common name among the Norsemen of Limerick. I think it most likely that our »Amlaib of Limerick« is the same as Amlaib, the father of Amlaib mac Amlaib, who was banished A. D. 968.

Besides this Amlaib our saga mentions other viking-chieftains in Limerick, namely the Clan Connra (the descendants or sons of Connra). Cogadh Gaedhel (p. 106) mentions the battle of *Fán Conrach* »the Slope of C.«, or *Fán mic Connrach* »the Slope of the Son of C.«, or *Dún Fáin*

[1] Chronicum Scotorum, A. D. 1056.
[2] Chron. Scot. A. D. 936; F. M. A. D. 935.
[3] Cogadh, p. 85.

Conrach »the Fort of C.«. Dr. Todd says in his introduction (p. CXXXIX) that this place was probably situated in the neighbourhood of the town of Waterford. Professor Kuno Meyer remarks that *Connra* might be written instead of *Connrach*, as *Temra* is used instead of the gen. *Temrach*. We see from Cogadh Gaedhel that in the year 978 »the Slope of Connrach« was in the possession of the vikings who had probably built a fort there (*Dún Fáin Connrach*). From this I conclude that »the descendants of Connra« have been lords of a hibernicised tribe of Norseman who had their stronghold at Fán Connrach.

As to *Morann*, see the notes to § 16 and to § 19. The poem (§ 19) mentions two different chieftains of the name of Morann while one only is mentioned here. The name is Irish.

The name of *Magnus* (later *Manus*) is derived from Charlemagne (*Carolus Magnus*). Several recurrences of the name are known from Limerick. *Magnus Berna* (i. e. Magnus the son of Bjarni), or »Magnus of Limerick« (*Manus Lumnig*), was slain in the year 968, in the battle of Sulcoit.[1]) A few years later »Inis-Cathaig« (Scattery Island in the Shannon) was plundered by Magnus, son of Araìt (= O. N. *Haraldr*), with the Lagmanni of the Islands (i. e. the Hebrides).[2]) Dr. O' Donovan is probably right in his suggestion that the name of *Magnus* was first introduced into Ireland by the Norsemen. *Lochlainn* as a proper name must be a derivation of *Lochlann* (Old Ir. *Lothlenn* or *Lothlinn*), the common Irish name for Norway and the Scandinavian countries.[3]) According to the Four Masters, »Lochlainn, lord of Corca-Modhruaidh, died« A. D. 983. He was »the progenitor after whom the O' Lochlainns, or O' Loughlins of Burren, in Thomond, have taken their hereditary surname«. From this we see that Lochlainn as a personal name was in use in Munster in the 10th century. The name became in later times very common.

In the next last line of the chapter the MS. has *gu brach*, instead of the usual *gu brath* (i e. to the day of judgment; for ever). Is this a Munster provincialism? In the

[1]) Cogadh, p. 79.
[2]) F. M., A. O. 972.
[3]) Thesaurus Palæo-hibernicus, ed. Stokes & Strachan II, 290.

same way *gh* is often written at the end of a word instead of the regular *dh*, e. g. *bhathbhuaigh* = *blathbhuaidh*, *figh* = *fidh*, *Gaeighel* = *Gaedhel*, etc.

§ 9. *Lochlannach* (»a man from Lochlann«) signifies in Irish a Norwegian as well as a Dane, but it usually means a man of Norwegian descent (= *Finnlochlannach*). *Danair*, n. pl. (dat. pl. *Danaraibh*) is the Irish form of the Norse *Danir* »Danes«.

Clann Cormac cais, »The descendants of Cormac Cas«, i. e. the famous Dal Cais.

Clann Eachach, other wise called *Ui Echach*, *Ui Eathach*, i. e. the descendants of Eochaid, son of Cas, son of Corc, king of Munster, the fourth in descent from Ailill Olum. They were seated on the S. W. shore of the co. of Cork, round Bandon and Kinsale.[1])

§ 10, first stanza. *gu Luimnech na cloch cengail* »to Limerick of the riveted stones«. This seems to show that ancient Limerick was surrounded by a stone wall, though probably not at the time of Cellachan, but later, in the 11th century, at the time when the saga was composed. Limerick was, I believe, originally fortified by an earthen or wooden wall, else it would have been impossible for Mathgamhain and Brian Borumha to burn the town in 968. Cogadh Gaedhel tells (p. 80): »The fort and the good town they reduced to a cloud of smoke and to red fire afterwards«.

Stanza 6, *blathbhuaigh* leg. *blathbhuaidh*.

Stanza 7, *gliagh* leg. *gliadh*.

Stanza 8. Morann, who (ch. 16) is called the son of the fleet-king of Lewis, is here called »the festive grandson (or descendant) of the king of Fuarlochlann«. *Fuarlochlann* means the cold Lochlann«. Mac Firbis, in his tract on the Fomorians and the Lochlannachs, mentions a country called *crich na fuardhachta* »the country of coldness«, possibly the same as Fuarlochlann. Does »the cold Lochlann« signify Iceland or Halogaland, the northernmost district of Norway?

§§ 11—12. The superiority of the Norse armour is also mentioned in Cogadh Gaedhel (pp. 52 and 152): »There was moreover not one Dane or Viking (*Danar no dibergach*) of those two thousand who had not polished, strong, triple-plated,

[1]) Cogadh, p. CLVIII, n.

glittering armour of refined iron, or of cool uncorroding brass, encasing their sides and bodies from head to foot«.

§ 15 *biarran*. leg. *bharann*.

§ 16. Morann is here called »the long-haired, high-spirited Morann of the fierce people, i. e. the son of the fleet-king of Lewis«. In the poem (ch. 19) he is called »the long-haired Morann from the country of Lewis of the Lochlannachs«. Morann has consequently been a chieftain from the island of Lewis (*Leodhus*) in the Hebrides. The Irish name of *Leodus*, *Leoghus* is a derivation of the Norwegian name of the Island, *Ljóðús*. This name also occurs as a place-name in Norway and in Sweden. The Swedish town Lödöse was in ancient times called Ljodhus. — *Morann* is an Irish name. Many of the Norse settlers of the Hebrides had, however, Irish names, as on the other hand many of the Celtic inhabitants had Norse names. The population, as well as the civilisation of the Islands, was mixed Hiberno-Norwegian. The inhabitants were called Gaill-Gaedhil or »Norse-Irishman«. The Hebrides were not yet united into one kingdom, but divided among many Irish, Norwegian, and probably also Danish chieftains. — Two other kings of the Hebrides, Aedh, son of Echu, and Eiric, are likewise mentioned by our saga. — The father of Morann is called »fleet-king of Lewis« (*rí loingsi Leoghasa*). This expression corresponds to the Norse *sækonungr* »a seaking, a viking-chieftain of royal family«. Snorre tells that the Norwegian krig Erik Bloody-Axe, having been expelled from Northumberland, went to the Orkneys and thence to the Hebrides; *váru þar margir víkingar ok herkonungar.* [1])

Our saga is not the only instance where it is mentioned that chieftains from the distant Hebrides came to the assistance of the Limerick-men against the Irish. There must — in the first part of the tenth century — have been a close connection between Limerick and the Hebrides. Dr. Steenstrup (Normannerne III, p. 213) also says: »Not few reasons seem to point to a connection between the kings of the Islands and the lords of Limerick. The same names are found in both royal families, and besides, we have seen how, on the great piratical expedition in the year 962, the son of Olav and the

[1]) Heimskringla, Saga Hákonar góða, ch. 4.

Lagmenn did not go against Limerick, but plundered the southern and eastern shores of Ireland. A son of Olaf is mentioned as lord of the ships, and we afterwards find Olaf (Amlaib), son of Olaf, in Limerick. We have seen that Ivar (Imhar) of Limerick is obliged to fly from his realm, and that he is absent one year, during which time he attempts the conquest of Wales. On this expedition the Limerick-men help the Vikings from the Islands.« The author of our saga, then, has also known this connection between Limerick and the Hebrides. This strengthens our belief in the general trustworthiness of the saga.

§ 18. *gur marbad isna tigibh 7 isna toraibh na treinfhir*, »so that the champions were killed in the houses and in the towers«. Before the English conquest the city of Waterford was not only surrounded by walls, but it also contained several towers of which the celebrated Reginald's Tower still exists.[1]) Cogadh Gaedhel has (p. 78) a similar description of the sack of Limerick after the battle of Sulcoit (A. D. 968): »They followed them also into the fort (*dún*), and slaughtered them on the streets and in the houses (*ar na srathaib ocus isna taigib*)«. The Irish *sráth* (pl. *sraitde*)[2]) is probably borrowed, not directly from the Latin [*via*] *strata*, but from the Norse *stræti*.

Cunadh da fhoirgiull sin do can in fili na focuil si. »Therefore to testify to this, the poet sang the following words«. Cogadh Gaedhel (ch. 54) uses the same expression: *Ocus do roine an file an laidh aga foirgell*, »and to testify to this the poet made the following poem«.

§ 19. The beginning of the poem, *Crodha sin a chlainn Eogain*, corresponds to the beginning of the poem in Cogadh Gaedhel, ch. 42: *A Dail Cais is calma sin* (»O Dal Cais! This is brave!«), and to the poem in ch. 54 (the poem which follows the words *aga foirgell*): *A Mathgamhain is maith sin* (»O Mathgamhain! That is well!«).

Stanza 2. As to Morann, see the notes to § 16.

[1]) A. Bugge, Nordisk Sprog og Nationalitet i Irland. Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1900, p. 318.

[2]) The form *sraitde* occurs in the tale of the poet Rumunn (cf. Kuno Meyer, Stories and songs from Irish MSS., Otia Merseiana II, p. 79).

a tríth Leoghus Lochlonnaigh, i. e. »from Lewis, the country of the Norwegians«. Here as in several other instances the word *lochlonnach* means »Norwegian«, and not Norse, Scandinavian or Danish.

Stanza 3. *Maghnas*, another form of the name of *Magnus*; see the notes to § 16.

Stanza 4. *Ribordan na rann* »R. of the quatrains«, cf. the notes to § 7. We learn from this poem that there were two different Moranns in Limerick. The one was the above mentioned chieftain from the island of Lewis. The other was *Morann mac Connra crechaig* (M. son of plundering Connra). The sons of Connra belonged, according to the poem, to the *fortúath Eogain*. The word *fortúath* signifies »an additional tribe, a strange tribe in a territory«. The word is sometimes used of pure Irish clans, and it does not necessarily imply that the *fortuath* was of foreign, e. g. of Norse origin. But in this case we may, I think, from the use of the name *fortuath Eogain* conclude that the tribe of which the sons of Connra were lords lived among the Eoganachts in the county of Kerry, and that they were descended from Viking-settlers who had organized themselves as an Irish clan. The epithet *ardbrethach* »high-judicial, of the high judgments« is given to the tribe on account of its bearing the name Morann. The eponyme was a celebrated Irish judge or brehon who is said to have lived in the first century of the Christian era.

Stanza 8. Buadachan is here called *ua Aedha* (the grandson or descendant of Aedh). This Aedh is probably the same as Aedh dubh, who is mentioned as one of the ancestors of Cellachan of Cashel (B. of Magh Rath, Gen. Table).

§ 20. *Corcach* is the Irish name of the city of Cork, in Munster. The city of Cork has probably been founded by the vikings in the middle of the ninth century. The Three Fragments (A. D. 866) mention the Norse hosts (*slóigh Lochlann*) who »came from the harbour of Cork« (*ó Phurt Corcaighe*), where their chief had »a fortified castle« (*castail daingen*), the earliest notice of a Norse castle in Ireland.[1]) In the beginning of the 10th century new settlers came to Cork, and to other parts of southern Ireland under Ragnall (i. e.

[1]) Three Fragments of Irish Annals, ed. O' Donovan, pp. 166 f.

Ragnvald), the grandson of Imar (i. e. Ivar), and the Earl Ottir (i. e. Ottar).[1])

The inhabitants of Cork are called *Danair* and *Duibhgeinnti*. *Danair* is the Irish form of the Norse *Danir* »Danes«. *Dubgenti* »dark gentiles« is also a name for the Danes, while the words *Finngaill* »fair Foreigners« or *Finngenti* »fair gentiles« signify »Norwegians«. The Norse settlers in southern Munster, Cork, Cashel etc., are by our saga constantly called Danes, while the vikings of Limerick are called *Lochlannaig*, and those of Dublin *Finnlochlannaig* (Norwegians). I believe that we from this are justified in concluding that the Norse settlers of Cork, Cashel, Thurles etc. were of Danish and not of Norwegian origin, as were the inhabitants of the kingdom of Dublin. Ragnall, the grandson of Imar, who about the year 914 came to Cork has, according to professor Steenstrup, probably been a Dane; he is, in the Annals, called *rí Dubhgall* (king of the Danes).[2]) At all events there must have been many settlers of Danish origin in Munster. Other Munster-sagas, e. g. Cogadh Gaedhel, usually call the Vikings *Danair* or *Danmarccaig* (men from Denmark); even Munster-poets of the 17th century use the word *Danair* in the meaning of »strangers, foreign tyrants«. These words, however, are seldom used outside Munster. Annals written in other parts of Ireland, usually call the Vikings *genti* »Gentiles«, *Gaill* »Foreigners«, *Lochlannaig*, or *Normannaig* »Norwegians«. And still they very well know to distinguish between Danes and Norwegians, as do for instance the Three Fragments.

As to the Vikings of Limerick, I feel inclined to think that they have been of Norwegian, and not of Danish origin, because of their being constantly called Lochlannaig and not Danair by our saga.

arna Duibhghéinntibh danardha; I translate this sentence: »on the Danish Black Gentiles«; *danardha* means »Danish, cruel, barbarous«. The same expression, *Duibgeinti danarda*, is also used by the author of Cogadh Gaedhel, ch. 20.

Caisel, now Cashel in the county of Tipperary. According to Cogadh Gaedhel (p. 70), Cashel of the Kings was in the power of the Norsemen as late as in the year 964.

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[1]) Cogad Gaedhel, p. 30.

[2]) Annals of Ulster, A. D. 916, 917. Four Masters, A. D. 915.

Sliab-Crot, now Slieve Grud, or Mount Grud, in the townland of Cappa-Uniac, parish of Killardry, barony of Clanwilliam, and county of Tipperary. The history knows another battle of Sliab Crot, which was fought A. D. 1058, between Diarmait mac Maeil-na-mbó, king of Leinster, and Donnchad, son of Brian, king of Munster. A confused memory of both these battles is, I believe, preserved in a poem by Finn, bishop of Kildare († 1085):

> »The battle of Sliab Crot the memorable
> brougt silence on the noble host of Munstermen:
> when Limerick got a swift burning,
> Leinster was well paid by its produce.« [1])

Fir Muighi, i. e. the inhabitants of the districts of the same name, now Fermoy, county of Cork E. R., barony of Condons and Clangibbon.

Ui Cuanach, i. e. the inhabitants of the district of the same name, now the barony of Coonagh, in the county of Limerick.

Durlus, now Thurles, a township in the county of Tipperary, barony of Eliogarty. Another fortress of the same name (*Dun Durlais*) was situated between Newmarket and the boundaries of the counties of Limerick and Kerry. It seems as if descendants of the vikings have also lived in this district, the leading tribe bearing the name of *Mac Amhlaoibh* (now Mac Auliffe, i. e. the son of Olav). [2])

Éle. This was the name of a tribe, but was also applied to the territory inhabited by the tribe. It contained the whole of Ely O' Carroll, which belonged originally to Munster, but is now assigned to the King's County, and contains the baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybrit; the baronies of Ikerrin and Eliogarty, now in the county of Tipperary, were also incluled in the ancient Ele. [3])

Ui Luigdech, now Ileagh, formerly a separate barony, but now included in the barony of Eliogarty in the county of Tipperary.

[1]) Whitley Stokes, On the Deaths of some Irish Heroes (Revue Celtique), p. 315.

[2]) Irish Topographical poems, ed. O' Donovan, notes 660 and 662.

[3]) Irish Typographical Poems, J. O' Donovan, note 759.

We see from this chapter that the descendants of the Vikings have been settled in many places in the county of Tipperary, and that more especially they occupied the fortified places and the towns, e. g. Thurles and Cashel.

§ 21. Stanza 2. *Ua Echach*, i. e. the descendant of Eochaid, king of Munster. *Ua Mogha*, i. e. the descendant of Mog Corb, who was not, however, the direct ancestor of Donnchad.

Stanza 5. Eochaid, the ancestor af Donnchad, and Feidlimid, the ancestor of Cellachan, were sons of Aengus, son of Nathfraech.

§ 22. *Port Lairge* is the Irish name of the town of Waterford (O. N. *Veðrafiǫrðr*).

We see from our saga that there was a close connection between the Viking-settlement of Waterford and the kingdom of Dublin. In the 10th and in the 11th centuries Waterford sometimes formed an independent kingdom, and was sometimes united with the kingdom of Dublin. It seems as if its kings at the beginning of the 11th century have belonged to the same family as the Dublin kings. Our saga seems to regard Waterford as a dependency of the kingdom of Dublin.

Sitric, son of Turgeis, is, according to our saga, lord (or king) of Dublin; see the notes to § 27.

Waterford is, like Limerick and Dublin, described as a fortified town. But the walls cannot have been high, since Cellachan and his men lept over them.

Deisi, i. e. the present baronies of Decies-within-Drum and Decies-without-Drum, county of Waterford. According to the Four Masters, Domhnall, son of Faelan, lord of the Deisi, died A. D. 995.

Ui Mac Caille, now the barony of Imokilly, county of Cork.

Ui Liathain. — This tribe derived their name from Eochaidh Liathanach, son of Daire Cerba, ancestor of the Ui Fidhgeinte. Their territory was nearly coextensive with the present barony of Barrymore, in the county of Cork.[1])

Eoghanachta Locha Léin (the Eoghanachts of Lough Leane) were a tribe seated on the east of the Lake of Killarney, county of Cork.

[1]) Irish Typographical Poems, J. O' Donovan, note 549.

Muscraige. This tribe were the descendants of Cairbre Musc, king of Ireland in the third century. Their territory is represented by the present baronies of East and West Muskerry, county of Cork; and by those of Clanwilliam and of Upper and Lower Ormond, county of Tipperary.[1])

Aes Isde. O' Donovan supposes that this was the name of a territory along the river Mang in Kerry (Irish Topographical poems, ed. J. O' Donovan, note 590).

Aes Irrais, or *Irras*, cf. Joyce, Irish Place-names, 2 ser., 208.

Congal mac Annrathain. Is he identical with Conghal, son of Anrudhan, lord of Corca-Modhruadh, who died A. D. 987 (Four Masters)?

§ 23. *Ciarraige*, i. e. the present county of Kerry. The country was several times in the ninth century plundered by the Vikings (cf. Coghad Gaedhel, pp. 15, 19, 25, 20, 227, 229).

Glenn Corbraighi, now Glin, on the Shannon, in the county of Limerick. — *Ui Conaill*; this trib was otherwise called Ui Conaill Gabhra, and occupied the present barony of Connello, in the county of Limerick. Their king, Flannabra mac Ciarmacain, was the son of Ciarmacan, son of Flannabra Ua Dunadhaig, who died A. D. 901 (Four Masters).

Donncuan mac Ceinneidig was the elder brother of the celebrated Munster kings, Mathgamhain and Brian Borumha.[2])

Ui Cairbre, otherwise called Ui Cairbre Aebhdha. The territory of this tribe comprised the present barony of Coshma, in the county of Limerick, and the plains extending thence down to the Shannon.[3])

As to Uainide (Uainighe), son of Cathal, king of Ui Cairbre, see Cogadh Gaedhel, p. 249 (Dr. Todd's notes).

§ 24. The beginning of this poem: *Uathad sin a clanna Cuirc*, closely corresponds to a poem in Cogadh Gaedhel (ch. XLVI), where king Mathgamhain addresses his brother Brian. The latter poem begins: *Uathadh sin a Brian Banba.*

[1]) Cogadh Gaedhel, p. CXV.
[2]) Cogadh Gaedhel, p. 247.
[3]) Topographical Poems, note 673.

a clanna Cuirc, O descendants of Corc. Cellachan and his men are called so, because they were descended from Corc, who was king of Munster early in the fifth century.

Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas, was king of Munster at the end of the third century.

Fiacha Muilleathan was the son of Eoghan Mór.

§ 25. *Do thinoil Uaithne mac Cathail 7 hi Chairbre*; I have probably made an error in the translation of this passage. *Uaithne* is not a personal name, but the name of a territory comprising the present baronies of Owney, in the counties of Limerick and Tipperary. The passage ought perhaps to be translated: »The son of Cathal (i. e. Uainide, king of Ui Cairbre) assembled the Uaithne and the Ui Cairbre«.

Cromad, now Croom, on the River Maigue, in the county of Limerick, was the seat of the chief of the Ui Cairbre Aebhdha.[1]) O' Donovan (B. of Magh. Rath, Gen. Table) says that it was Cathal, son of Uainighe, who was slain at Croom by Cellachan.

Corcamruadh, now Corcomroe, in Thomond.

Corco-Bhaiscinn, now Corcovaskin, in the west of the county of Clare; *da C.*, i. e. East and West C.

Cuirc na cuaine i. e. »the Cuirc of the harbour«, referring to the Corcamruad and the Corco Baiscinn. »There is here«, Dr. Kuno Meyer says in a letter to me, »a play upon the word *corc*, which I think means some bird«.

§ 26. *Ceinneidig* was made tanist of Munster because of his being the head of the Dalcassian race. He did, however, never succeed to the kingdom of Cashel.

Osraidi, leg. *Osraigi*, i. e. the people of Ossory. The ancient Ossory comprised the barony of Upper Ossory, in the Queen's County, and nearly the whole of the county of Kilkenny.

Donnchadh, son of Cellach, lord of Ossory, is also mentioned by the Four Masters, A. D. 945; according to the same authority, he is said to have died in the year 974. The war between Cellachan and the people of Osraige is mentioned by The Four Masters (A. A. 938, i. e. 940): »A great slaughter was made of the Osraighi by Ceallachan, king of Cashel«.

[1]) Cf. O' Donovan's note to Four Masters, A. D. 1151.

The Norsemen plundered Ossory several times in the 9th century, especially about the middle of the century (cf. Steenstrup, Normannerne II, pp. 125, 131; Three Fragments, pp. 120, 155).

§ 27. *Ath Cliath*, i. e. »the ford of hurdles«, is the well known Irish name of Dublin. — As to the name of Dublin, see Joyce, Irish Place Names (fourth ed.), p. 362.

There is much confusion as to the kingdom of Dublin in the middle of the 10th century. This, the most powerful viking-colony in Ireland, must often have had more than one lord or king at the same time. Thus the king Blacair (= O. N. *Blakkr*), son of Godfred, is called »one of the chieftains of the Foreigners« (*aon do thaoisechaibh Gall*).[1]) And one chieftain often expells an other. Thus in the year 945, »Blacair abandoned Dublin, and Amlaib remained in his place«.[2]) But Amlaib (i. e. Olav Kvaaran) went afterwards to Northumberland, and Blacair again appears as »king of the Foreigners«; he was killed in 948.[3]) We do not now the name of his successor. In the year 950, however, Ivar (*Imhar*) appears as »Tanist of the Foreigners«, and another of the chieftains of the Norsemen of Dublin is called »Godfred, son of Sitric».[4]) Ivar was killed in a battle (950), and Godfred was probably slain the next year.[5]) Olav Kvaaran (*Amlaib Cuarán*) comes back in the year 953 and again becomes king of Dublin.[6]) We see from this that there are intervals where we do not know the names of the lords of Dublin (949—950 and 951—953).

Our saga mentions *Sitric mac Turgeis* and his brothers as lords of Dublin. Their names are not known by the Annals. But still they may be historical. About the middle of the tenth century there has undoubtedly been a lord of Dublin of the name of Sitric. In the winter 941—942, Muirchertach of the Leather Cloaks made his famous circuit of Ireland, which has been described by a contemporary poet.

[1]) Four Masters, A. D. 945.
[2]) Annals of Ulster, 944; F. M. 943.
[3]) Annals of Ulster, 947; F. M. 946.
[4]) F. D., 948.
[5]) Steenstrup, Normannerne III, p. 126 f.
[6]) Normannerne III, p. 143.

On his way he came to Dublin from where he brought »Sitric of the jewels« (*Sitric na sed*) as a hostage.[1]) Dr. Steenstrup and Dr. O' Donovan are of opinion that this Sitric has not been the lord of Dublin, »but a noble warrior or perhaps a junior prince«.[2]) I cannot agree with them, because in the annals of the Four Masters (A. D. 939) he is called *tighearna Atha Cliath* »lord of Dublin«; in the poem he also, in my opinion, appears as the lord of this town. This Sitric, who has probably belonged to another family than Olav Kvaaran, is perhaps identical with *Sitric mac Turgeis*.

The name of *Sitric* or *Sitriuc* is, as we have heard, the Irish form of the Norse *Sigtryggr*. The name of *Turgeis* is probably not the Irish form of *Þorgisl*, but as suggested by Dr. Whitley Stokes, the Irish form of the Norse *Þorgestr*. Sitric and his brothers are called *clann Turgeis* »the descendants of Turgeis«.[3]) From this we may perhaps infer that Turgeis has not been the father, but the ancestor of Sitric. If so, we must necessarily think of the famous Turgeis, the founder of Dublin, who lived about the year 840 and who was the first king of the vikings in Ireland. Turgeis's name was well known in after times; he is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis. Turgeis, who was drowned in 845, was probably succeeded by Zain and Iargna, the two half-kings (*leithri*) of the Norwegians, who in 851 were slain by the Danes.[4]) In the year 853 the Norwegian power was reestablished by *Amlaib Conung*, son of the king of Lochlann (i. e. Norway), the same king whom the Icelandic Sagas call *Ólafr hviti* (Olav the white). His descendants, or rather the descendants of his brother Ivar were for a long time kings of Dublin. In this family the uncommon name of *Iercne* or *Iar(n)gna* (i. e. *Iárnkné*, Iron-knee) and its Irish translation *Glúniaran* are often used. Thus the lord of Dublin about 890—895 has the name Gluniaran. His son was probably *Oittir mac Iarngna*, who fell in 918.[5]) This seems to show that there has been some family-relationship between the

[1]) The circuit of Muirchertach, ed. by Dr. Hogan, V. 12—13.

[2]) Normannerne III, p. 122; F. M., p. 638, n. i.

[3]) The word *cland* is in Windisch's Glossary translated: »Nachkommenschaft, Geschlecht, Clan, progenies«.

[4]) Three Fragments pp. 11—123.

[5]) A. U. 894, F. M. 890; Three Fragments, p. 230. The son of *Iergni* or *Iercne* is mentioned by the Annals of Ulster, A. D. 882.

later kings of Dublin and the half-king Iargna who was slain in 851. The latter Iargna has probably been the son of Turgeis, the founder of the dynasty. Thus the royal family of Dublin in the middle of the 10th century might be called the descendants of Turgeis«.

The brothers of Sitric are *Tor*, *Magnus*, and *Turgeis*. Was *Simond mac Turgeis* who was slain in the battle of Clontarf (War of the Gaedhil, p. 206) the son of this Turgeis? *Tor* is not the Irish form of the name of the God (Þórr), but that of the Norse personal name *Þórir*. The usual form of this name in the Irish Annals is *Tomrair*, while the god Thor is called *Tomar*. The form *Tor* very seldom occurs. I have only found it twice: I. in Leabhar Genealach Mhic Fhirbhisich (The Book of Pedigrees, by Duald Mac Firbis), where *Tor* among viking-chieftains in Connaught (*i g-Connachtaibh*) in the 10th century is mentioned, II. in a poem, said to have been written by Flann Mac Lonan († 918) in commemoration of Eignechán, prince of Tyrconnell (in Connaught[1]). In this curious poem not only the names *Tor* and *Turgeis* appear, but also *Bebinn* (i. e. *bebhfinn* »the fair woman«), the name given to the daughter of Turgeis. Eignechán had three daughters who were married to Viking-chieftains; as says the poem:

Trí h-ingheana Éigneacháin uill,
Tríur ban dob' fhearr a Leath-Choinn,
Duibhlinn is Bé-bhuadha
Is Béibhionn bioth-bhuadha.

Tug iad do Gallaibh mara
Eigneachán, ár n-Árd-Chara
Do chion logadh dá thír thall
Cúmadh na loingse Lochlonn.

Faodhis Duibhlinn, lé níor áil,
Le Caithis Sgearrdha sgiath-náir,
Be-bhuadha ag Turgéis na d-tór,
Faoidheas Beibhionn le Gall-Tór.

[1]) I only know this poem from a late paper copy in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. $\frac{23}{N.\ 7}$, p. 41. Cf. a paper by Dr. Petrie in the Irish Penny Journal, p. 185,

Three daughters of great Eignechán,
three women, who were the best in Conn's half,[1])
Dublin, and Be-buadha (i. e. the precious woman),
and Bebhinn always precious.

He gave them to the Norsemen from the sea
Eignechán, in Ard Cara,
in order to deliver his country
from sorrow (caused by) the fleet of Lochlann.

Dublin goes, it was not pleasant to her,
with Caithis[2]) Sgearrdha of the golden (?) shields,
Bebuadha with Turgeis of the towers,
Bebhinn goes with the Viking Thore.

Tor, who is married to Bebinn, is no doubt identical with the Viking-chieftain of this name who is mentioned by Mac Firbis and who plundered in Connaught. There must, however, have been some connection between these Norse sons-in-law of Eignechan and Sitric and his brothers. The names Tor and Turgeis are too uncommon; — the Annals do not know any other Turgeis than the founder of Dublin —. The Irish name Bebhinn is also a name that seldom occurs. From this I conclude that Bebinn, the daughter of Turgeis, has been named after Bebinn, the wife of Gall-Tór. I may also mention that there is no literary connection whatever between the Saga of Cellachan and Flann Mac Lonan's poem.

The three following names: *in Lochlannach ladhuch 7 in Lochlannach na lann 7 Sean-Amlaibh* are (§ 63 and § 69) called »the three guardians of Cork«. From this we may conclude that they do not belong to Dublin, but that they have been the rulers of Cork *Lochlannach.* This word, in the two first mentioned names, is not to be understood as a personal name: It means »the Norwegian«, or »the Norseman«. — The Sagateller has not known the real name of these chieftains. — I have translated *ladhuch* (or *ladhach*) by »handsome«, according to O' Reilly who has: *laghach* = »handsome, comely«. But I am not sure that this translation is the right one.

[1]) i. e. the northern half of Ireland.

[2]) *Caithis* is perhaps a corrupt form of *Caitil*, i. e. *Ketill*, a common Norwegian name in the Viking ages.

Senn-Imlaibh (old A.) is also called the senior of the army.

Linn-Turmun (or *Lenn-Turmun*) *na huidhi*, i. e. Lenn Turmun of the Journey. *Lenn*, *lend* is an Irish word which signifies »a mantle (toga, sagum)«. *Turmun* (also written *Trumun*) is the Irish form of *þormundr*. This ancient Norse name never occurs in the Icelandic Sagas, but it is still in use in south-western Norway as well as in Denmark (Terman); the name is also found in a Danish runic inscription.

Mac Firbis, in his »Book of Pedigrees«, calls a viking chieftain who in the 10th century invaded Ulster *Tormin mac Celi*. Is he identical with *Lenn-Turmun na huidhi*, or with *Lenn-Turmun na Pers*?

Lenn-Turmun na Pers, i. e. »Lenn-Thormund of the Persians«. The word *Persa* (nom. plur.), gen. pl. *na Pers*, dat. *Persaibh*, originally signifies »Persians, the inhabitants of Persia«. It is, however, impossible that a Norse army in Ireland in the 10th century has actually contained a troop of Persians. A Norseman would never in olden times have called Norse warriors, who had visited the far East, »Persians«. He would certainly have used the word *Serkir* (i. e. Saracens, Mauritani). The word *Persar*, *Persae* was only used by scholars. It is, however, most unlikely that the imagagination of an Irish poet should alone have been sufficient, without any connection with the facts, to introduce Persians into a Norse army in Ireland. The author of the tale, or of the poems on which our Saga is based, must have heard that in the army of the Dublin-king there were warriors who were called with a name that he has misunderstood as »Persians«. The word *Persa*, *na Pers* must be the Irish misinterpreted form of some Norse word. It is, I think, the Irish form of *Berserkir*, gen. *Berserkja*, i. e. Berserks, a kind of wild warriors. If this explanation is the right one, the Irish have probably supposed that the word *Berserkir* was a contracted form of **Bers-Serkir* (*Pers-Serkir*), i. e. Persian-Saracens, or »Saracens (*Serkir*), who by other Norsemen are called *Persar*, *Perse* (Persians)«.

It is not difficult to understand a misinterpretation like this, because:

1) The inhabitants of Persias are actually called *Serkir* in the ancient Norwegian litterature; see Stjórn, p. 72, l. 21: *fyrir þan skylld at þær þiodir byggja uiðr hans halfuur sem Perse heita. hueria er uær kǫllum Serki*; cf. Stjórn, pp. 65, 289.

2) The Icelandic Sagas often describe the inhabitants of Africa (*blámenn* = blue men) as berserks, and even sometimes introduce them at the courts of Scandinavian kings.

3) Latin and Greek *p*, in the beginning of a word, is in Norse words often changed into *b*, e. g. *bik* (Ags. *pic*) = Lat. *picem*.

4) Dr. Whitley Stokes has suggested that the *dám dásachtach* (i. e. the mad, furious company) of the Bruden da Derga (the Court of Da Derga) was suggested by the Scandinavian *berserkir* (Revue Celtique XXII, p. 45).

5) The Irish must have known that the Norse words *Serkir* and *Blámenn* were names for the inhabitants of Africa, and of the East. The Fragments of Irish Annals (ed. O' Donovan, p. 162) tell that the sons of Ragnar Lodbrok, after their expedition to Spain and Northern Africa »carried off a great host of them [the Mauritani] as captives to Erin, and these are the blue men (*na fir gorma*) [of Erin], for Mauri is the same as black menn, and Mauritania is the same as blackness (*uair is ionann Mauri 7 nigri: Mauritania is ionann is nigritudo*)«. These Saracens who were brought as captives to Ireland have no doubt served in the Norse armies there. And as wild and strange-looking warriors they may easily have been called Berserks.

The description of the »Persians« in our Saga very closely corresponds to the description of the Berserks in the ancient Norwegian and Icelandic litterature. In our Saga »the Persians« form a separate division of the army (*sluagh na Pers*), and their chief, *Lenn-Turmun na Pers*, is mentioned as one of the Norse chieftains. He seems to have occupied a high position at the court of Dublin. In the naval combat of Dundalk »the Persians« form a separate division of the fleet (*loingius na Pers*), and fight against the kings of Kerry and of Corco Baiscin (*Persa ocus Corco Baiscinn*). The Norwegian king Harald Fairhair had in his service Berserks (*berserkir*, *úlfheðnar*) who are described in a contemporaneous poem by Torbiorn Hornklove. He tells that they formed a

separate division of the army (*þeim er þat sýst saman*), and that they belonged to the body-guard of the king. They took a prominent part in the celebrated naval combat at Hafrsfiord, where they had their position in Harald's own ship. Egil Saga (ch. 9) says: *En berserkir konungs 12 váru í sǫxum.* Snorre tells (Haralds s. hárf., ch. 9): *Aptr frá stafnrúm til austrrums var kallat á rausn, þat var skipat berserkjum.* Not only Harald Fairhair, but several other ancient Norse kings are said to have had Berserks in their service, who are always described as the greatest champions.

I add that it is my father, professor Sophus Bugge, who first suggested to me that the word *Persa* signifies »Berserks«.

I have not yet tried to explain the word *lenn, linn* which, as an epithet, is prefixed to the name *Turmun* (*Lenn-Turmun na hUidhi*, and *Lenn-Turmun na Pers*). This epithet seems to refer to something that is not peculiar to Berserks alone, but which also characterizes other warriors. The Irish word *lenn, lend* signifies, as we have heard, »a mantle«. But it is difficult to understand how a warrior might be called »Mantle-Thormund«. The ancient Norwegian word for »mantle« is *kápa*, f., a loanword from the mediæval Lat. *capa, cappa*. There is, however, another Norse word which in sound resembles *kápa*, viz. *kappi* (gen. *kappa*) »a champion«. In Norwegian popular ballads the word *kappi* is often used as an epithet prefixed to the name of the hero, e. g. *kappen Illugi*. It is easy to understand that a warrior might be called »Kappen Thormund« (i. e. the champion Thormund). I think that the Irish sagateller, who heard about Thormund and his berserks, has confounded the Norse *kappi*, gen. *kappa* »a champion« and the Latin *cappa* »a mantle«.

My opinion is that *Lenn-Turmun na Pers* has been the chief of the Berserks who served in the army of the king of Dublin, and who formed a part of his body-guard. His namesake is called *Lenn Turmun na huidhi*, i. e. »the champion Thormond of the Journey«.[1]) He has, I suppose, been the chief of the *gestir* of the Dublin-king, a *gestahǫfðingi*. The *gestir* (i. e. »the guests«) formed a separate class of the body-

[1]) *Uidhe*, s. a journey (O'Reilly).

guard of the king. They were sent on all kinds of dangerous expeditions, to put the enemies of the king to death, to collect taxes etc.: *heita þeir gestir, ok fá þeir þat nafn af fiǫlskylldri sýslu, því at þeir gista margra manna híbýli, ok þó eigi allra með vináttu* (Speculum regale, ch. 27; cf. Hirðskrá § 43). At the head of these »guests« stood a so-called *gestahǫfðingi*. The guests as a separate class of the king's body-guard seem to have existed in Norway already at the time of Harald Fairhair. Two of his men, Sigtrygg Snarfare and Hallvard Hardfare, seem to have occupied the position of a *gestahǫfðingi*.[1])

Finnlochlann (the Fair Lochlann), i. e. Norway. In § 78 »The son of the king of Fair Lochlann« is called »the slaughtering Ilbrech (*Ilbrech imgonach*), son of the king of Fair Lochlann«. *Ilbrech* is not a Norse name, but seems to be Irish. One of the chiefs of the Tuatha De Danann is called Ilbhreach of Cas Ruaidh (The fate of the Children of Lir, ch. 3). One of the warriors, who fought on the side of the Norsemen in the battle of Clontarf, was *Anrath mac Elbric* or *Ellric* (War of the Gaedhil, pp. 164, 194). From the list of the warriors in this battle the poem on the Battle of Braavalla has borrowed the name of *Elrici filii* (Saxo, ed. Holder, pp. 260—261) as the name of warriors who fought in this battle. The name of *Elbric* is Anglo-Saxon, cognate with A. S. *Ælfric*. I think that the author of the Saga of Cellachan has confounded the two names *Ilbrec* and *Elbric*, and that Ilbhrec, son of the king of Norway, is identical with Elbric, whose son took part in the battle of Clontarf.[2])

Fuarlochlann, i. e. the Cold Lochlan; *fuar* means »cold, dismal«. Fac Firbis (»On the Fomorians and the Norsemen«, in the Book of Pedigrees) mentions a country called *crích na fuardhachta* (»the land of Coldness«) which is perhaps identical with »the Cold Lochlann«. Is »the Cold Lochlann« the same as Iceland, or as Haalogaland, the northernmost district of ancient Norway, or does it simply mean Norway? Cf. *Tíre an tSneachta*, the country of the snow, i. e. Norway (?), Leabhar Oiris § 27 (Ériu I, p. 84).

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[1]) Cf. A. Bugge, Vesterlandenes indflydelse paa Nordboerne i vikingetiden (Christiania Videnskabsselskab 1904), p. 71.

[2]) Sophus Bugge, Norsk Sagafortælling i Irland (ed. by Norsk historisk Tidsskrift), pp. 101—103.

Béirne (i. e. the fair woman) is not a Norse but an Irish name. Many Irish names were already in use among the Norsemen in Ireland in the beginning of the 10th century. Donnchad, son of Flann Sinna, was monarch of all Ireland; according to the Annals of Ulster, he died, A. D. 943 (alias 944)

Ri Temrach (the gen. of *Temair*), i. e. »king of Tara«, the official title of the monarch of all Ireland. That Cellachan had not done homage to Donnchad we learn from the Annals of Ulster (A. D. 940, n. 5).

§ 28. Ath Cliath (Dublin) is called a *dún*, because the city was fortified and surrounded by walls (*dún* N. eine umwallte Stadt, Windisch). Cf. Móirthimchell Éirenn uile dorigne Muirchertach mac Neill (ed. E. Hogan), stanza 11: »A night we were at bonny Ath Cliath; it was not handsome towards the Galls (Norsemen); there was a woman in the strong fortress« (*isin dúin trom*).

§ 29. *Mór* is a common Irish female name.

Eachach is the genitive case of *Echu*, a man's name. *Innsi Gall* the islands of the Foreigners (i. e. of the Norsemen)« is the Irish name for the Hebrides. The population of these islands was mixed, and consisted of both Norwegians and of Gaels. Aed, son of Echu, has probably been a Gael.

Sitriuc mac Turgeis dona Finnlochlannchaibh, i. e. Sitric, son of Turgeis, of the Fair Lochlannachs. In other words, the author of the Saga here expresses the opinion that the inhabitants of Dublin were Norwegians.

»And she recited the song; but there is nothing in this song but a repetition of the story«. These words prove that the copy of the Saga of Cellachan preserved in the Book of Lismore is not the original version of the Saga, but that the transcriber has used a more ancient copy which also contained the poem that I have printed from the paper-copy in the Royal Irish Academy $\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. a.}}$.

§ 30. *idir chois 7 each* »both foot and horse«. The Norsemen in Ireland in the 10th century already had their cavalry (cf. Three Fragments p. 166, . . . *aosa gradha righ Lochlann .i. mareshluagh righ Lochlann*).

§ 31. *Ui Faelain*. There was a tribe of this name in the present county of Kildare. The Ui Faelain here mentioned were, however, lords of the *Deisi* (Decies, co. Water-

ford). *Domhnall mac Faolain* was king of the Deisi (Leabhar Oiris § 2, Ériu I, p. 78) about 980.

Magh-da-chon, plain of the two hounds. The name is now anglicized Mayacomb, a parish in the barony of Rathvilly, in the county of Carlow, and extending into the barony of Shillelagh, in the county of Wicklow. The O' Neills of this territory are mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 1087; cf. Irish Topographical Poems, ed. by J. O' Donovan, p. 92. It must be through a mistake that the O' Neills are mentioned in our Saga. The O' Neills were a Leinster, and not a Munster tribe, and they did not, as far as we know, belong to the Desies or Decies (*Deissi*) of Munster (*Déissi Mumhan*). The territory of this tribe is represented by the districts now called Decies, in the county of Waterford, and by the Northern Desies, in the county of Tipperary. In the fifth century, Aengus Mac Natfraeich, king of Munster, granted the Deissi the plain of Magh Feimhin, in the county of Tipperary; but they were driven from thence by the Eoghanachts (Topogr. Poems, n. 528).

§ 35. *Clanna Eachach*, i. e. the descendants of Echu. This tribe is otherwise called Ui Eachach or Ui Eathach, and was seated in the county of Cork, round Bandon and Kinsale.

§ 37. *Clanna Cairthin finn*, i. e. the descendants of Carthenn Finn (A. D. 439), the ancestor of Brian Borumha (cf. the Genealogical Table, The Battle of Magh Rath, ed. O' Donovan).

§ 39. *Muscraighe*, now Muskerry, the baronies of East and West Muskerry, co. Cork.

§ 40. *Ciarraige Luachra*, »C. of the rushes«, i. e. the northern portion of the county of Kerry.

§ 41. *Corco-Duibhne*, the present barony of Corcaguiny, in the county of Kerry.

Clanna Cuirc meic Cairbri. There was a family Ui Cuirc, who were lords of Muscraighe (Four Masters, A. D. 1043).

Clanna Cairbre Cruithnigh, i. e. the descendants of Cairbre the Pict (*Cruithnech*). A tribe, called Ui Cairbre Aebhdha, which was seated in the present barony of Coshma, in the county of Limerick, is probably not identical with this clan.

2 42. *Clanna Luighdech*, otherwise called Ui Luighdech, or Heagh, formerly a separate barony, but now included in the barony of Eliogarthy, county of Tipperary. The Dalcassians were also sometimes called *clanna Luighdech* (Cogadh Gaedhil, p. CVI).

The Irish Sagas often mention that the fallen warriors are decapitated, and that their heads are placed upon stakes. This custom seems to have prevailed as well among the Irish as among the Norsemen in Ireland, and was not, as far as I can see, introduced into Ireland by the Vikings. In the year 871 the Leinster-men expelled one of their chieftains. Some time afterwards he came with an army to Leinster, and committed many plunders and depredations. The Leinster-men »attacked him on every side with javelins, and axes, and swords, so that they hacked him into small pieces, and cut off his head. They also killed his people. His head was afterwards brought to the Lochlannachs, who placed it on a pole, and continued for some time to shoot at it« (Three Fragments, ed. O' Donovan, p. 184). In the legendary tale called »The Death of Muirchertach mac Erca«, king Muirchertach says:

»Since I came over sea to Erin,
I remember the number of years,
I have never been a day — lasting the fame —
without a hero's head and triumph over him, etc.

Two years I was afterwards
in kingship over Danes,[1])
there has been no night there at
without the heads of twains on stakes«.

The names of the fallen companions of Cellachan are also enumerated in the poem printed in a foot-note from a paper-copy in the Royal Irish Academy. I only note a few differences:

Stanza 9. Aedh mac Segda is in the prose (ch. 41) called the son of one of the three kings of Corca Duibhne

[1]) The editor, dr. Whitley Stokes, remarks: »a noteworthy anachronism« (Revue Celtique XXIII, p. 415).

(the barony of Corcaguiny in the county of Kerry). The poem calls him son of the king of *Magh g-Coincinne*, i. e. the present barony of Magunihy, in the county of Kerry.

There is in this stanza an assonance between *raon* and *Aodh*.

Stanza 12. The son of *Riórdán* (i. e. Rigbhardan) is not mentioned in the prose.

Stanza 13. Domhnall is here called »grandson of yellow Niall« (*ua Neill buighi*). The prose (§ 31) calls him *ua Neill Muighi-Da-Chon*.

Stanza 17. Mór is here called »daughter of the king of the Islands of the Fair Foreigners (i. e. the Norwegians)« (*inghion Rígh innsi Fionnghall*). The usual name of the Hebrides is *innsi Gall* »the Islands of the Foreigners«. But, as we all know, the Hebrides were actually in the power of the Norwegians and, from the time of king Magnus Bareleg, formed a dependency of Norway.

§ 43. *Cath Sceith Neachtuin* (the battle of Scé or Sciach Nechtain), see § 2.

It is an anachronism when Sitric requires ransom for the men who fell in this battle, which took place in the year 847 (War of the Gaedhil, p. 21). The reason is probably that the annals know another chieftain of the name of Tomar, viz. *Tamar mac Elgi* (Thore, son of Helge), who in the year 922 landed at Inis Sibhtonn, in the harbour of Limerick. He seems to have died short time afterwards (War of the Gaedhil, pp. CVI, 39).

Ard Macha, »the Height of Macha«, i. e. the present city of Armagh, in Ulster, seat of »the Successor of Patrick«, and one of the most holy places of Ireland. The town was in the year 943 plundered by the Norsemen, and can at the time when Cellachan was captured only a few years have been in their power (Annals of Ulsters, A. D. 942, Four Masters, A. D. 941).

§ 44. We see from the poem printed in this chapter, that the Vikings of Dublin intended to sail with Cellachan to Norway (»eastwards to Lochlann«), if the Munster-men would not ransom him.

laoidheang, s. m. »ship or bark« (P. O' Connell); the word *laideng* often occurs in the Destruction of Troy, Book of Leinster (ed. Whitley Stokes). The word is a loanword

from the Norse *leiðangr*, m., i. e. 1) the levy of ships which the people of the different Norwegian districts had to equip, 2) a naval force.

Éiric rí na n-innse, i. e. Eiric, king of the Hebrides. *Éiric* is the Irish form of the Norse name *Eirikr* (Erik). There is only one other instance of the use of this name in Irish (F. M. 1103). In the middle of the 10th century a man of the name of Erik was actually king of the Hebrides, viz. the Norwegian king, Erik Bloody-Axe (*Eirikr blóðøx*). Expelled from Norway, king Erik went to England, and was made king of Northumberland. He was, however, soon expelled, came back again, but was expelled a second time about the year 953. Erik now went, first to the Orkneys and thence to the Hebrides, where there were many vikings and sea-kings who united their forces with his. From the Hebrides he, according to Snorre (Heimskringla, Saga Hákonar góða, ch. 4), went to Ireland, where he got reinforcements. Thence he returned to England. But he was slain, probably in 954, in Cumberland or Westmoreland, by the Anglo-Saxon Heahgerefa Osulf, and by Maccus, son of Olaf (Steenstrup, Normannerne III, pp. 88—89).

The name *Maccus* is a later form of *Magnus*. In the 10th century this name was only used by the reigning families of Limerick and of the Isle of Man and the Hebrides. *Maccus filius Onlafi*, who has probably been king of Man and the Hebrides, was the natural adversary of Erik Bloody-Axe, who had assumed the kingdom of the Isles. I have no doubt that »Eiric, king of the Hebrides« and the confederate of Sitric of Dublin about the year 953, is identical with the Norwegian king Erik Bloody-Axe.

Donnchad, the son of Cellachan of Cashel, died in the year 963 (Four Masters, A. D. 961).

§ 45. *Clanna Cuirc*, i. e. the descendants of Corc, or Conall Corc, who was king of Munster early in the fifth century (see the genealogical table, especlally the Eoghanachts of Cashel).

Donnchad mac Caeim meic Airt meic Cathail seems to have been the chief of Clan Echach (i. e. the Ui Echach) at the time of Cellachan. O' Donovan, in his notes to the Battle of Magh Rath, gives a genealogical table of the principal

families sprung from Oilill Olum. The pedigree of Donnchad, son of Caem, is here as follows: Donnchad (flourished 942), son of Cathal, son of Caem, son of Finguine, king of Munster, slain 902 (cf. War of the Gaedhil, p. 248).

Maelfothartaigh, son of Flann (otherwise called son of Donnchadh, or son of Bran), was the successor of Cellachan of Cashel and died in the year 957 (Four Masters, A. D. 955).

Suilleban, son of Mael Ugra; cf. O' Donovan's Genealogical Table (Battle of Magh Rath). He and his men are called *clanna Fingin* on account of his descent form Fingin, king of Desmond († 619).

Cú-calma mac Cindfhaelaid; a descendant of Cennfaeladh, king of Muscraighe-Breoghain (fl. 850, War of the Gaedhil, 23)?

Clanna Failbhe, otherwise called *Ui Failbhe*; their territory extended from the river Maing to Ventry, in the west of the county of Kerry.

Ui Muiredhaigh; there were tribes of this name in Leinster (the southern half of co. Kildare) and in Connaught.

Airrtir Cliach (the gen. of *Cliu*) »eastern Cliach«, a territory around Cnoc Aine in the county of Limerick. Cf. Book of Rights, p. 46 n.

Ui Cathbaidh, otherwise called the Eoghanachts of Crich Chathbuidh (Irish Topographical Poems, ed. O' Donovan, p. 121 and n. 686). Their territory was situated in the county of Tipperary.

Clanna Sealbaigh, otherwise called *clanna t-Sealbhaigh*. This was the tribal name of the O' Donoghues of the county of Kerry.

Flannabra mac Airindan meic Flannabra is probably a grandson of Flannabrat, grandson of Dunadach, king of Ui Conaill, who was slain in the year 869 (War of the Gaedhil, p. 33); cf. the Genealogical Table in the Battle of Magh Rath. *Ui Conaill* (otherwise called Ui Conaill Gabhra); the territory of this tribe comprised the baronies of Upper and Lower Conello, co. Limerick.

Ui Cairbri; the territory of this tribe comprised the barony of Coshma, co. of Limerick.

go roichid Ardmacha m-binn »until they reach melodious A.«, *binn* referring to the bells, psalmsinging, etc.

Tonn Chliodhna, i. e. the wave of Cliodhna. Cliodhna was the name of a rock, in the harbour of Glandore, a bay in the county of Cork. »In this bay is the rock called Cliodhna's rock, upon which beats a wave called Tonn Chliodhna, said to utter a plaintive sound when a monarch of the south of Ireland dies.« (War of the Gaedhil, p. CLIX, n. 3).

Abhann Dá-bho-bennchorr, i. e. »the river of the two kine«. This must be the name of a river in the north of Ireland probably in the county of Down, and near Bangor (*Beannchair*).

P. 27, last line; *adhmar* = *ághmar*.

P. 28, l. 28. *Dún Bailc* is not identified; it must be a place in southern Munster.

§ 46. *Connachta*, i. e. the inhabitants of Connaught.

Uaithne, i. e. the inhabitants of the present baronies of Owney, in the counties of Limerick and Tipperary.

Urmhumha (*Irmumha* »East Munster«), i. e. the inhabitants of the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, in the county of Tipperary. *Éle*, dat. pl. *Eilibh*; see § 20.

Bladhma, now the Slieve Bloom mountains, on the confines of the King's and Queen's Counties.

Sruth na Maeile, i. e. the Current of the Headland of Cantyre, now the Mull (*Maol*) of Cantyre or Kintyre, in Scotland.

Corco-Laighde. This was the tribal name of the O' Driscolls, but was also applied to their territory, which comprised the south-western part of the county of Cork (Top. Poems, n. 565).

Dubhdhaboireann, king of Western Ui Echach. Is he identical with the later king of Munster, Dubhdhaboirenn, who was slain by his own people, A. D. 957 (cf. War of the Gaedhil, the genealogical table, p. 248)? The latter king Dubhdhaboirenn actually belonged to the Ui Eachach.

Corco-Baiscinn. The two Corca-Baiscinns originally comprised the baronies of Clonderalaw, Moyarta, and Ibrickan, in the west of the county of Clare.

Corcamruadh, otherwise called Corc Modhruadh, i. e. the descendants of Corc Modhruadh, third son of Fergus, dethroned king of Ulster, in the first century. The territory

of the Corcamruadhs comprised the baronies of Corcomroe and Burrin, in the north-west of the county of Clare.

Lochlainn, king of the Corcamruadhs, is probably identical with Lochlainn, lord of Corca-Modruadh, who died in the year 985 (Four Masters, A. D. 983).

And let them bring with them ten ships from each cantred, for that is the full muster of our own fleet«. This phrase closely corresponds to the Norse expression *gjalda fullan leiðangr*, i. e. »to furnish the complete levy of ships and men«, the terminus tecnicus of the ancient Norwegian laws. We have already heard that the Irish word *laideng* is a loanword from the Norse *leiðangr*. It is also well known, how many other Irish words for ships and parts of the ship are borrowed from the Norse. In consequence of this it is easy to understand that the Irish, who in the 10th century, imitating the Norsemen, began to build larger seafaring ships and warships, have also imitated the Norse custom of summons to arms, the *leiðangr*. Ancient Norway was for this purpose divided into districts (*skipreiður*). Each of these districts had in war-time to equip and to man a warship; the number of these districts was fixed by law. This system has, no doubt, been imitated by the Irish. The present Saga is not the only instance where we hear of fleets equipped by the Irish. The Annals of the Four Masters A. D. 939 (recte 941) says: »A fleet was conducted by Muirchertach, son of Niall (king of Elagh), and he carried off much plunder and booty from the Insi-Gall (i. e. the Hebrides), after gaining victory and triumph«. In the year 1005 king Brian Borumha »sent forth a naval expedition, viz. the Gaill (i. e. the Norsemen) of Ath Cliath, and of Port Lairge, and of the Ui Ceinnselaigh (in co. Wexford), and of the Ui Eathach of Munster, and of almost all the men of Erin, such of them as were fit to go to sea; and they levied royal tribute from the Saxons and the Britons, and from the men of Lennox in Alba, and from the inhabitants of Argyle«. Therefore, when our Saga tells that the men of Munster sent forth a naval expedition in order to rescue Cellachan, this statement has, I believe, its foundation in fact.

§ 47. *do bas* (pass. preterite voice of *biu*); *do bas acu* »it was with them, they were«.

Clann Cormac Cais, i. e. the descendants of Cormac Cas, the Dal Cais or Dalcassians.

Clanna Cellachain, i. e. the descendants of Cellachan, otherwise called *O' Cellachain*. »The O' Cellachains, now O' Callaghans, are descended from Ceallachan, son of Domhnall, son of Murchadh, son of Donnchadh, son of Ceallachan, king of Cashel, or Munster, who died in the year 954« (Irish Topographical Poems, ed. O' Donovan, n. 657). The O' Cellachans were seated in the Kinelea, in the south of the county of Cork. It is an anachronism when our Saga mentions »the descendants of Cellachan« among the tribes who were going to rescue Cellachan.

Clanna Taidg, i. e. the descendants of Tadg, who assisted Cormac mac Art in the battle of Crinna, in the third century, in reward for which king Cormac granted him the territory of Cianachta, in the east of ancient Meath. They must in later times have got new seats in parts of the King's County, which originally belonged to Munster (cf. Topographical Poems, p. 133, n. 760—761).

Clanna Fiachaig Suidhe (leg. *Suigde*), i. e. the descendants of Fiacha Suigde, the elder brother of Conn of the Hundred Battles. This tribe was otherwise called *Deisi*.

Ard Osraighi. I am not able to identify this place.

Glenn Corbraigi, i. e. Glinn, on the Shannon, in the county of Limerick.

Sengualainn Cladhaird ua Conaill, now Shanagolden, in the barony of Lower Conello (*Ui Conaill*), county of Limerick.

§ 48. The route of the Munster-men is minutely described by the author of our Saga. Having started from the neighbourhood of Ennis (Co. Clare), they went northwards to Athenry (Co. Galway). From this place they went to Ballysadare (Co. Sligo), and thence they proceeded forwards, towards the N. E., to Balyshannon (Co. Donegal). Thence they went straight eastwards to Armagh. *Magh n-Adar* (or *Magh Adhair*), a level district lying between the towns of Ennis and Tullagh, in the county of Clare.

Bel-Atha-Laigin. »The word *bél* is very often united with *ath*, forming the compound *bél-atha*, which signifies ford-entrance, litterally m o u t h o f a f o r d . . . . . Bél-atha is often in modern names changed to *balli* or *bally*, as if the original root were *baile* a town« (Joyce, Irish place-names,

4th ed., pp. 356 f.). On the river Shannon is a place called Ballyleague, in Irish *Ath-Liag-Finn*. In the barony of Muskerry East, in the county of Cork, is a place called Ballyleigh. Is one of these places identical with Bel-Atha-Laigin?

§ 49. *Congalach, son of Lorcan*, is mentioned in the Four Masters, A. D. 932.

Is *Aissid, son of Aissid*, identical with Eissidha, son of Sioda, who through Caisin, son of Cas, was a descendant of Cormac Cas, the ancestor of king Brian Borumha (cf. the Genealogical Table, Battle of Magh Rath)?

Deghadh, son of Domhnall, son of Donn, was likewise, through Aengus Cinnathrach, a descendant of Cormac Cas. According to O' Donovan, he was the chief of Cinel Fermaic, in Thomond (cf. Geneal. Table, Battle of Magh Rath).

§ 56. The direct Ancestors of Donnchad were,[1]) according to O' Donovan (Battle of Magh Rath):

Nathfraech K. M.
Aengus, K. M., slain 489.
Eóchaidh, K. M., d. 523.
Crímhthann Srebh, K. D. 523.
Cairbre Crom, K. D., d. 577.
Aedh Flanncathrach.
Cathal, K. D., d. 627.
Cú gan mathair, K. M., d. 657.
Fínguine, K. M., 696.
Cathal, d. 742.
Artri.
Gorman.
Fínguine, K. M., slain 902.
Cáem, a quo O' Keffe.
Cathal.
Donnchad.

§ 51. *Ath-na-Righ* (the ford of the kings), now Athenry, in the county of Galway, barony of Athenry.

Sliabh Cain. I am not able to identify this mountain. Is it a mistake for *Sliabh Cam* (*Sliabh Gamh*), now Slieve Gamph, a ridge of mountains, in the counties of Mayo and Sligo?

[1]) K. M. signifies king of Munster, K. D. king of Desmond.

§ 52 *Muaidh*, i. e. the river Moy, in the counties of Mayo and Sligo. L. 3, *buigin*, leg. *buidin*.

Dealbhna. The Delbna were descended from Lugaidh Dealbhaeth, son of Cas, who was the ancestor of the Dalcais of Thomond. The descendants of this Lugaidh acquired seven territories contiguous to each other, and beyond the limits of Thomond, in Meath and Connaught (Topogr. Poems, n. 26). The Dealbhna, who are mentioned in this §, must have been seated in Connaught, and have probably been the Dealbhna-Nuadhat, between the rivers Suck and Shannon, in the county of Roscommon. The Delbhna-Mór of West-Meath came to the assistance of Mathgamhain and his brother Brian in the year 968 (War of the Gaedhil, p. 75).

Gailinga. There was a settlement of the Gailenga in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, in Connaught. The tribe was descended from Cormac Gailenga, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilill Olum, king of Munster (War of the Gaedhil, p. CLXV, n. 2). The name of Gailenga is still preserved in that of the barony of Gallen, Co. Mayo.

Luigne. The Lini or Luighne derived their name from Luigh, son of Cormac Gailenga, and were, in fact, only a branch of the Gailenga. Their territory is now represented by the barony of Leyney, in the county of Sligo.

§ 53. *Esdara*, i. e. the cataract of the oak, the ancient name of the beautiful rapid on the Owenmore river, at Ballysadare in Sligo (Joyce, Irish place-names, 4 ed., p. 460).

Droichet Matra, i. e. the bridge of Matra. This bridge seems to have crossed the cataract of Esdara, which was otherwise called *Martra* (Joyce, Place-names, second ser., p. 435). The bridge of *Matra* is mentioned in Silva Gadelica, ed. O' Grady (translation), p. 51.

Sligech (gen. *Sligigh*), i. e. the river Sligo.

Benn-Gulban, now Binbulbin, a remarkable mountain near the Sligo.

Dubh, or Black river, now the Duff, on the borders of Sligo and Leitrim.

Drobais, now the Drowis, which rises in Loch Melvin, and falls into the sea at Bun-drowes, near the town of Donegal.

Magh n-Ene, now Moy, a plain in Donegal.

Es Ruaidh, otherwise called *Es-Aedha-Ruaidh*, i. e. Assaroe, now the Salmonleap, on the river Erne, Balyshannon (or better »Balyshanny«).

Ath Senaig (or *Bel-Atha-Senaig*, mouth of the ford of Senach), now Balyshanny, incorrectly »Ballyshannon«, in the county of Donegal.

When king Brian Borumha, in the year 1005, made his expedition round Ireland he followed the same route from the Sligo to Ballyshannon (War of the Gaedhil. pp. 135, CLVII).

Cenel Conaill, i. e. the race of Conall, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. »They were seated in Tirconnell, which in latter ages was co-extensive with the present county of Donegal« (Topograph. poems, n. 192). Their king, *Muircher-tach mac Airnelach*, is not mentioned in O' Donovan's list of kings of Tirconnell (Battle of Magh Rath, p. 337).

Clann Turgheis, i. e. the descendants of Turgeis. This and other instances seem to prove that Turgeis was not the father, but the ancestor of Sitric and his brothers. I may add that Munster-poets of the 17th century still call the Norsemen of Dublin *clanna Turgeis* (cf. The Poem of Egan O' Rahilly, ed. by Rev. Patrick Dinneen, p. 193: *Is Brian léar treasgradh Clanna Turgesius*, i. e. »and Brian, by whom the children of Turgesius were laid low«).

Dún n-Dealgan, i. e. the town Dundalk, in the county of Louth. The name of Dundalk was originally applied, not to the town, but to the great fortress now called the moat of Castletown, a mile inland (Joyce, Place-names, 4 ed., p. 278). The place-names as well as the Annals prove that the Norsemen had colonies all along the coast of the counties of Louth and Down. These colonies were dependencies of the kingdom of Dublin; their rulers are called earls or chieftains (Steenstrup, Normannerne, pp. 115—118). Dundalk has been the station of the Norse fleet.

Iarla is the Irish form of the Norse *iarl* »an earl«.

In the middle of the 10th century Armagh (*Ard Macha*) must, as we have heard, have been in the possession of the Norsemen of Dublin.

Lulach is a Gaelic or a Pictish name; Lulach, Mormaer of Moray, was slain in the year 1058 (Chronicles of the Picts and Scots).

Amhlaibh is the Irish form of the Norse *Ólafr*.

Lagmann is the Irish form of the Norse *lǫgmaðr*. This word originally signified »a man learned in law a lawyer«. In ancient Norway the word had this meaning. The Egil Saga mentions as present at the Gula Thing[1]) about the year 934 »lenda men ok lögmen ok alla al þyðu« (ch. 57). These *lǫgmenn* were probably identical with the *domendr* (i. e. judges), who were members of the *lǫgrétta* (court). The same *lǫgmenn*, who are also called *logköner menn* (learned in law) are also present at the Frosta Thing in the year 1114—1115. In ancient Sweden, the *lǫgmaðr* occupied a much higher position. He was elected by the people, and had to preside over the Thing and to recite the law to the people. Dr. Johannes Steenstrup is the first who has called attention to the fact that *lagemanni* (*judices*) occur in England, within the district of the Danelaw, e. g. in Chester, in Stamford, and in Lincoln. Their number seems always to have been twelve, and their office to have been hereditary (Normannerne IV, 195—206). The *lagemanni* were no doubt members of the *lǫgrétta* (court). The office as member of the House of Keys (the ancient *lǫgrétta*) in the Isle of Man likewise descended from father to son. The English *lagemanni* seem to have formed a kind of aristocracy. The Lagmenn (*lagmainn*) of the Hebrides are mentioned several times in the 10th century. They follow the kings of Man and the Hebrides on their expeditions to Ireland (Normannerne III, 139, 192, 213). The *lagmainn* of the Isles seems to have been few in number, and they have, no doubt, been small chieftains from Man and the Hebrides; *lagmann* is their official title. This is also, I think, the reason why *Lagmann* was used as a proper name by the royal family of the Isle of Man; their ancestors had namely been chieftains of Islay in the Hebrides.

The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel seems to consider *Lagmann* as a proper name. In a following chapter (§ 55) Lagmann, however, acts as the governor of Armagh. He addresses the soldiers and leads the defence of the town. This seems to indicate that *Lagmann* is not actually a personal name, but a title, and that the commander of Dundalk has

[1]) Thing (*þing*), i. e. of the folk-moot of the ancient Norsemen.

been called *lagmann* in his official capicity. In a later chapter (§ 85) *lagmann* also seems to be, not a title, but a proper name. One of the chieftains who were slain in the battle of Clontarf (1014) is called *Amlaib lagmaind mac Gophraid* (War of the Gaedhil, pp. 164, 206). *Lagmann* is here clearly a title, but later transcribers of the Saga have misunderstood the word and transformed *Amlaib lagmann* into *Amlaib mac Lagmainn*.

Turcaill is the Irish form of the Norse *Þorketill, Þorkell*. Is he identical with *Turcuill Treaban* (i. e. *Þorkell Trébeinn*) who is mentioned by Mac Firbis (Book of Pedigrees) as one of the vikings who invaded Ulster?

Gilla Ciariain is a Christian, Irish name. A son of Gluniarain, son of Olav Cuaran, who fell in the battle of Clontarf 1014, is called Gilla Ciarain (War of the Gaedhil, p. CLXXIV). Gilla Ciarain is called *mac Henruc in t-senrigh* (son of H., the old king). *Henruc* is written above the line. I do not understand this name. Is it miswritten for *Henriic* (Henry), or does it stand instead of *h-Eiriic* (*Eiríkr*)?

Oitir dubh, i. e. Ottar the black. — *Óttarr* (Ags. *Ohtere*) was a common Norse name. — There were in Ireland several famous Vikings of the name »Oitir the black«; see Steenstrup, Normannerne III, pp. 13, 56, 57, 161. The historical Oitir dubh was slain in the year 918 (Four Masters, 916). He is also called »Oitir the earl« (*Oitir iarla*), and *Oittir mac Iarngna* (Three Fragments, p. 230). From his father's name, *Iarngna* (i. e. *Járnkné* »Iron-knee«), we may conclude that Oitir the black belonged to the royal family of Dublin. By a mistake, *Oitir dubh* is mentioned among the chieftains, who were slain in the battle of Clontarf 1014 (Cogadh Gaedhel, p. 206). It is also, I think, an anachronism, when the copy of our Saga preserved in the Book of Lismore mentions *Oitir dubh* as one of the Norse chieftains of Armagh. This name has not probably belonged to the original version of the Saga.

§ 54. *Eoganacht Chaisil*, i. e. the Eoghanachts of Cashel, a tribe anciently seated around Cashel, in the county of Tipperary.

Aine, now Cnoc Aine, a conspicuous hill in a parish of the same name, in the barony of Small County, Limerick

Book of Rights, p. 63 n.). *Eoganacht Aine*, see Book of Rights, p. 46 n.

Eoghanacht Glenn-Amnach, i. e. the Eoghanachts of Glanworth, see Book of Rights, p. 78 n.

Cliu, gen. *Cliach*, i. e. the territory round Cnoc Aine: the Eoghanachts of Cliu are consequently identical with the Eoghanachts of Aine.

Durlus, i. e. Thurles.

Eoghanach Locha Léin, see Book of Rights, p. 59 n.

Eoghanacht Raithlinn (cf. Book of Rights, p. 59 n.). *Raithlenn* was a territory in the parish of Templemartin, near Bandon, in the county of Cork (cf. Gaelic Journal, VII, p. 97).

§ 55. *mcrgc*, *meirge* »ensign, standard« (O' Reilly), acc. plur. *meirgidhe* (Windish), gen. plur. *mergedh*. This word is a loanword, = ancient Norwegian *merki*, n. »ensign, standard«.

in tuatha is probably miswritten for *na tuatha*.

§ 56. »They placed the heads (of the Norsemen) upon spikes«; cf. The death of Muirchertach mac Erca (ed. by Whitley Stokes) § 27: »There has been no night there without the heads of twain on stakes«.

Gaeighilib, *Gaeighel*, leg. *Gaedilib*, *Gaedel*.

§ 57. *Prim-fáith* means »chief prophet (seer)«, or perhaps »poet«, but probably not »primate«.

dechnebar iarla (ten earls); § 53 has: *nonbur iarla* (9 earls).

§ 58. *Sliabh Fuait*, a mountain in the county Armagh, the highest of »the Fews« mountains (Book of Rights, p. 144 n.).

Figh (leg. *Fid*) *Conaill*, i. e. the Wood of Conall. This was the name of a woody district in the present county of Louth.

Magh Murthemhne. This was the name of a plain in the county of Louth.

fuigheall, recte *fuidheall*, i. e. »leavings, what has been left«. § 58, n. 1.

Stanza 4. *Dún-Eochair-Mhaighe* (or »the fort on the bank of the [river] Maigue«, in the county of Limerick), probably now Bruree (War of the Gaedhil, p. CLX n.).

Uighne seems to have been situated somewhere in Munster, probably in the southern part of it. I am not able to identify this place.

Stanza 6. *Innsi Fingall*, »the Islands of the Norwegians«, i. e. the Hebrides.

St. 8. *uaimh*. Professor Kuno Meyer writes: »*uaimh* as it stands means »cave«, but I think *uaith* »dread« is meant«.

St. 9. *thógh*, better *togh*.

§ 39. *pían*, dat. *péin*, is a loanword from Lat. *poena*.

§ 60, stanza 7. *tré coiced Medhbha*, »through the province of Medb«, i. e. through Connaught. *Medb*, one of the most famous women of the Irish heroic tales, was the wife of Ailill, king of Connaught.

St. 9. *Gaighealuibh*, leg. *Gaidhealuibh*.

St. 11. *t-sál*. The *a* is short, as it rhymes with *Delgăn*.

§ 63. *Lochlannach na lann, in Lochlannach ladhach*, and *Sen-Amlaibh* are here called *tri coimedaige Corcaighi* »the three guardians of Cork« (*cométaid*, s. m., »Beschützer, servator, custos« [Windisch]; *cóimhéadach*, s. m. »a watch, a guard« [O' Reilly]). They seem to have been the lords of Cork, and their title seems to have been *cométaid* »guardian«, not king. Viking-chieftains seem to have sometimes born similar titles. The before mentioned earl Oitir the black and one of his companions are by the English historian Henry of Huntingdon called *consules* (*occiderunt Rahald consulem et Geolcil frarem Uhteri consulis*). In a Runic inscription, Brohärad, Upland (E. Brate and S. Bugge, Runverser, p. 54) we read: *Ginlaug Holmgeris dottiR . . . let . . . . raisa stain þenna eftir Assur bónda sinn, sun HákunaR iarls, sáR vaR víkinga vǫrðr með Gauti.* »Ginlaug, the daughter of Holmgeir, erected this stone ni memory of Assur, her husband, the son of Hakon the earl. He was the guardian of Vikings with Gaut«.

Inis Clere, i. e. Clear Island, an Island in *cuan Cléire*, the harbour of Cler, i. e. the bay between Cape Clear and Mizen Head, in the south of the County of Cork. The O' h-Eidirsceoil »assumed possession over the harbour of Cler« (Irish Topogr. Poems, p. 105).

Flann, Cobhthach and Eidirscell are here called kings of Corca Duibhne; this is an error for Corca Laighde.

Sceilic Michil, now Great Skellig, one of the Skellig Rocks, two lofty rocks off the coast of Kerry. Great Skellig was selected, in the early ages of Christianity, as a religious

retreat, and the ruins of some of the primitive cells and oratories remain to this day; the place was dedicated to the Archangel Michael, and hence it is called by Irish authorities *Sceilig Michil*, Michael's *scellig* or sea rock. From these rocks the Bay of Ballinskelligs, on the coast of Iveragh, took its name (Joyce, Irish Place Names, 4th ed., p. 421).

§ 64. *Ard Fothaigh m-Brenaind* has probably been the name of a hill in Camas ó Fothaid Tire, in the south west of the present county of Cork (cf. *Ard Fothaid*, Silva Gadelica, ed. O' Grady; XII. XXXIXC.).

Diarmaid, king of Corco-Baiscinn; his son *Domnall mac Diarmada* was slain in the battle of Clontarf (Annals of Ulster, ed. Hennessy I, 234 l. 4).

Inis Cathaigh, now Scattery Island, at the mouth of the Shannon, is several times mentioned as a stronghold of the Norsemen in the 10th century.

Ara, gen. *Arann*, is here probably the Island of Aranmore, in the bay of Galway.

§ 66. *Flann Fail*, i. e. Flann of Fal. *Fál*, gen. *Fail*, a poetical name for Ireland.

§ 67. *Tráig Baili* was another name of Dundalk.

§ 70. *Lugaidh Luain*, i. e. Lugaidh of Luan? Is *Áth Luain* (Athlone) meant? Cf. Cogadh, p. 112, l. 51, *dream Danar luain* (Luain?). Flann is called *Ua Luigdech* on account of his descent from Lugaidh Mac Ithu, the uncle of Milesius of Spain. His race were the O' Driscolls, whose territory was also called »the land of Ith« (Topogr. Poems, n. 579).

§ 71, l. 6, *ar topthaibh 7 ar trenramhaibh.* Three words are here omitted; read: *ar topthaibh 7 ar tiltibh 7 ar trenramhaibh.*

§ 75, n. 1. *Ui Conaire*, i. e. the descendants of Conaire II, of the Deagads of Munster, monarch of Ireland in the year 212 (Irish Topogr. Poems, n. 592).

§ 78, n. 1. Conchobar, the king of Ciarraige, is called *Ua Fergusa*, i. e. the descendant of Fergus, ex-king of Ulster, in the first century. Cf. Irish Topographical Poems (p. 112), where the king of Ciarraighe is called O' Conchobair (now O' Conor, or O' Connor Kerry).

§ 79. *Senan*, i. e. St. Senan, the patron of Scattery Island and founder of the monastery there.

§ 85, stanza 6. *mac meic Laghmuinn*, i. e. the son of the Lagmann's son. *Lagmann* seems here, as in § 53, to be a title, not a proper name.

St. 8. *O Mogha*, i. e. the descendant of Mug (Mug Corb)?

§ 87. Stanza 1. *Armagh na mǫrthora*, »Armagh of the great towers«. Dr. Kuno Meyer writes to me: »*tóra* (the ó is long, as it rhymes with *ródha*) is interesting. The usual word for »tower« is *tŏr*. gen. *tuir*«.

St. 5. *Sruth na Máile*, the sea between the Mull of Cantire and Ireland.

St. 6. *Ard Macha mongruaidhi*, »the Height of red-haired Macha«, i. e. Armagh. Dr. Joyce says (Irish Place Names, 4th ed., p. 78): »It is a fact admitting of no doubt that Armagh received its name from some remarkable woman named Macha, and the ancient writer in the Dinnsenchus mentions three, from one of whom the name was derived, but does not decide which. The first was Macha, the wife of Nevvy, who led hither a colony about 600 years after the deluge; the second, Macha of the golden hair, who founded the palace of Emania, 300 years before the Christian era; and the third, Macha, wife of Crunn, who lived in the reign of Conor Mac Nessa in the first century. The second Macha is recorded to have been buried there; and as she was by for the most celebrated of the three, she it was, most probably, after whom the place was called«. The author of our Saga is clearly of opinion that Armagh derives its name from Macha of the golden hair. In my own opinion Armagh derives its name from Macha, the sister of Badb, the ancient goddess of war.

§ 88. *ar deredh* in *sceoil*, »at the end of the story«, i. e. which finishes our story. The author, in other words, says that the poem printed in § 89 finishes the Saga. The following paragraphs must consequently be later additions. This conclusion is also forced upon us by other considerations. The version in the Book of Lismore states that Cellachan and his men went to Dublin, carried off its riches, and burned the town. This story is no doubt taken from the War of the Gaedhil (ch. LXVIII—LXIX), where it is told that king Brian Borumha after the battle of Glenmama (A. D. 1000) plundered and burned the Castle of Dublin. The Lis-

more version which, however, ends abruptly also seems to have related a victory that Cellachan and his men won over the Leinster men. The later paper-versions do not know these exploits, which are quite unknown to the Annals. They tell that after the victory Cellachan returned directly to Munster, where he died not long afterwards. This and other reasons lead me to the conclusion that the poems contained in our Saga are more ancient than the prose text. The poems are, I should say, nearly contemporary with the poems in the War of the Gaedhil, but the prose text seems to be younger.

§ 89. Stanza 5. *Dubh-dha-bhoirenn maith duinne* (leg. *duine*). Kuno Meyer writes: »*maith duinne* is curious; as it rhymes with *huide*, the *u* is short. Is it *maith duine* »good (was) the man«?« *Lenn Turmun na h-uidhe* is here called earl« (*iarla*).

St. 7. *Tora* is, like *Tor*, an Irish form of the Norse *þórir*. Many Norse words end in *-a* in Irish, e. g. *iarla* (= *iarl*), *garda* (= *garðr*).

St. 9. *re Finnlochlann on tir thuaidh*, »with Fair Lochlann (i. e. the son of the king of Fair L.) from the northern land«. This seems to show that the author of the poem has known the geographical position of Norway.

§ 91. *Clar Cruachna*, »the plain of Cruachan«, i. e. the plain of Magh Naoi, or Machaire Chonnacht, in the county of Roscommon, in which Cruachan, the ancient palace of the kings of Connaught, was situated. It lies between the towns of Roscommon and Elphin, and Castlereagh and Strokestown (Topogr. Poems. n. 224).

clar Midhe, i. e. the plain of Meath. *ainmfhine* = *anbhfine* »a hostile tribe« (Kuno Meyer).

guma = *gu mba*.

§ 93. *Mór* was, no doubt, the daughter of Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, monarch of Ireland. We have already heard of his connection with the Norsemen. *Mór* is an Irish name which also in later times, like *Bebinn*, was used by the members of the royal family of Dublin. The Book of Hy Maine (in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin) contains a list of famous Irish women. Among these names we read (fol. 97): *Mor ingen Eacmarcaig meic Ragnaill rig Gall, mathir Dondcada 7 Amlaim 7 Domnaill meic Taidg hua*

Briain 7 Bebind ingine Taidg, i. e. »Mor, the daughter of Eachmarcach, son of Ragnall, king of the Foreigners, mother of Donnchadh, and of Amlaib, and of Domnall, son of Tadg, grandson of Brian, and of Bebinn, daughter of Tadg«. — Eacmarchach usurped the kingdom of Dublin in the year 1035. —

§ 95. *Magh na hAlmhaine*, i. e. the plain of (or round) Almhain, now known as the Hill of Allen, a celebrated hill in the County of Kildare, situated about five miles to the north of the town of Kildare.

Murchadh, son of Finn, king of Leinster, is mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 956, 965, 967, 970.

Laidhis Laigen, i. e. Leix, a territory in the Queen's County.

Fotharta Laigen, is possibly the same as *Fotharta* (generally called Fotharta-Fea), now the barony of Forth, in the county of Carlow (Topogr. Poems, n. 476).

O' Mail (Imaile) is a territory in the barony of Upper Talbotstown, in the county of Wicklow.

O' bh-Failghe (Ui Failghe). The country of this tribe was very extensive before the British invasion, and comprised the present baronies of East and West Ophaly, in the county of Kildare; those of Portnahinch and Tinnahinch, in the Queen's County, and that portion of the King's County, which is comprised in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, cf. Book of Rights, p. 216 n..

O' Mairgi, now Omargy, in the county of Wicklow.

§ 98. Cormac, son of Cuilennan, was, according to the Annals, slain by the Leinster-men in the year 908, in the battle of Belach Mughna, in Magh Ailbe (Co. Kildare). The battle took place in the autumn. The battle between Cellachan, and his men and the Leinster-men must accordingly have taken place in the year 551.

§ 100. *Nior thóg Muichertach a aghaidh*, M. did not raise his face«, i. e. »he did not show himself«.

The paper-copy says that Cellachan died in the year 952. The actual year of his death, however, is 954, (Four Masters, A. D. 952).

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